

GREEN CODDESS
AT
WEST END
CINEMA.

The Bombay Chronicle

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, IN 1913

WEST END
CINEMA
THE COOLEST & THE MOST
COMFORTABLE THEATRE
IN BOMBAY.

VOL. V NO. 114

BOMBAY: MONDAY, MAY 14, 1917.

TWO ANNAS

SHIPPING

P. & O. AND BRITISH INDIA (Companies Incorporated in England.) MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.

STEAMERS of the P. & O. Co. will be despatched to London at frequent intervals calling at Aden, Port Said, and Marseilles. Steamers will also be despatched to Australia and to the Straits, China and Japan.

The BRITISH INDIA Co. will despatch Mail steamers for Karachi, Persian Gulf, and East and South African ports at frequent intervals.

HOLIDAY TICKETS TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

In view of the difficulties now attendant on passages to Europe, the P. & O. Company beg to announce that arrangements have been made to introduce special six months' Holiday Return Tickets to Australia and New Zealand. Many of the P. & O. Company's outward and homeward Australian Mail steamers will call at Bombay during the next few months and they will have ample room for any passengers desirous of visiting Australasia.

Six months' Holiday Return Tickets.	1st Saloon	2nd Saloon.
To Melbourne	630	450
To Sydney	690	480
To New Zealand (Auckland and Wellington)	870	600
Months' Return Tickets.		
To Melbourne	900	675
To Sydney	945	720
To New Zealand	1,060	835

Terms and Rates of Freight and Passage for P. & O. and B. I. sailings may be arranged with

MACKINNON, MACKENZIE & Co.,
Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay.

THE PERSIAN GULF S. N. CO., LTD.

Steamers are despatched at regular intervals to Persian Gulf and Red Sea Ports. 1st and 2nd class passengers' accommodation. Deck passengers also carried. For further particulars regarding fares, names of steamers and dates of departure of the above vessels will be furnished on application to—

HAJI SULTANALI SHUSHTARY & Co.,
Agents,
18, Rampart Row.

WE MANUFACTURE FINE WHITE THYMOL B. P.

Quotation on Request.

G. S. RANADE & CO.,
Bombay No. 4.

EMPTY TINS AND BOXES.

We hold large stocks of second hand empty kerosene oil tins and boxes suitable for the filling of vegetable oils, etc and sell the same at moderate rates. Also we make contracts with oil mills and other buyers to supply any quantity for long periods at fixed rates.

Intending buyers should communicate with

AHMED HUSEIN & CO.
Shadakh Mandvi Post,
BOMBAY.

SHIPPING

NIPPON-YUSEN KAISHA.

Japan Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.
(Incorporated in Japan.)

To Japan, etc.

For Sailings and Freight
apply to

T. KAWAGUCHI,
Manager.

Alice Building,
Hornby Road, Bombay.

OSAKA SHOSHEN KAISHA.

(Incorporated in Japan.)

HEAD OFFICE:—OSAKA, JAPAN.

Fleet 123 Vessels, Gross Tonnage 819,067. Steamers will be despatched at regular intervals to Japan via Singapore and Hong Kong.

For freight and other particulars regarding sailing, etc., please apply to the Undersigned.

M. UCHIYAMA,
Agent.
Sukhadwalla Building,
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

WHOLESALE INDIGO DEALERS AND

SUPPLIERS TO MILLS. MESSRS. GIRDHARIDAS RADHAKISHENDAS.

Head Office: Barbhui Mohalla, Post No. 3;

BOMBAY.

Telegraphs: Telephone No.
"GOODWILL" 2709.

BANKERS, GENERAL COMMISSION
AGENTS AND EXPORTERS OF
SEEDS, GROCERY, COTTON
YARN, ETC., TO EGYPT,
CYPRUS, ETC.

Branches: Madras, Karachi, Cawnpore,
Suikarpur (Sind), Chaman (Baluchistan).

AGENCIES ALL OVER INDIA.

THE GREAT AMERICAN REMEDY. Prof. JAMES'S Electro Tonic Pearls.

These Pills positively cure sleeplessness, failing memory, brain fog, incapacity, disinclination for work, study or business, general debility and all results of over work and dissipation. In cases of premature old age, involuntary discharges and weariness after slight exertion these Pearls effect a wonderful and almost a miraculous cure.

Price: Bottle of 25 Pearls Re. 1-4-0
" " " " " 2-0-0
V. P. Charges annas four extra.
SOLE AGENTS:
THE ANGLO-INDIAN DRUG & CHEMICAL
Co., Market, BOMBAY.

BANKING

THE PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK, LIMITED.

ESTABLISHED 15TH MAY, 1885.

	Rs.	S.	P.
Capital Authorized	50,00,000	0	0
Capital Issued	31,00,000	0	0
Capital Subscribed	31,00,000	0	0
Capital Paid-up	16,33,439	15	5
Reserve Funds	11,37,432	8	8

HEAD OFFICE:—LAHORE.

Branches: Amritsar, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi, D. I. Khan, Peshawar, Gujranwala, Jullundur, Karachi, Kasur, Lahore City, Lyallpur, Ludhiana, Multan City, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Sialkot, Patiala, Jamoo, Srinagar and Jhelum City.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at the rate of 2 1/2 per cent. per annum.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS. Sums as low as Rs. 5 received and interest allowed at 3 1/2 per cent. per annum.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS. The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

CHEQUES, HUNDIS, BILLS, etc., of all currencies are bought, collected and discounted. For other particulars and rules of business apply to—

NAND LAL PURI,
Manager.

BANKING

NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED.

(Incorporated in the United Kingdom.)

Bankers to the Government in British East Africa and Uganda.

Esplanade Road, BOMBAY.

Subscribed Capital 22,000,000
Paid-up Capital 21,000,000
Reserve Fund 21,250,000

Head Office:
25, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Branches:
Calcutta, Chittagong, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Cawnpore, Tuticorin, Cochin, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, East Africa, Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, Jinja, Kampala, Entebbe, Tanga, East Africa, Dar-es-Salaam, East Africa.

Agents in New York and South America—
The Anglo-South American Bank, Ltd.

Agents in Mauritius:
Mauritius Commercial Bank.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

The Bank receives Fixed Deposits for One year and shorter periods at rates of interest to be ascertained on application.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS

are opened for Approved Customers and interest is allowed at 2 per cent. per annum from Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 but no interest is allowed when the sum accrued does not amount to Rs. 5 half-yearly.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE

are granted on the Head Office and Branches, in India, China, Africa and Australia, purchased or collected.

DRAFTS

are granted on the Head Office and Branches, in Europe, Africa, America and Australia. Remittances may be by telegraph.

The Bank undertakes the purchase and sale of Government Securities, Stocks and Shares and receives safe custody of valuables and interest and dividend when due.

Loans and Cash Credits granted on approved securities.

RALPH KIDD,
Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

Established 1889.

Subscribed Capital Yen 48,000,000
Paid-up Capital Yen 36,000,000
Reserve Fund Yen 21,500,000

HEAD OFFICE:—YOKOHAMA.

Branches and Agencies at:
Antung Hsein, Calcutta, Ryojun (Port Arthur), Changchun, London, Arthur, Dairen (Dairen), Lyons, San Francisco, Hankow, Shanghai, Hongkong, Harbin, (Mukden), Nagasaki, (Australia), Hongkong, Newchwang, Peking, Hankow, New York, Tientsin, Los Angeles, Osaka, Tokyo, (Cal. U.S.A.), Peking, Tientsin, Liangyung, Singapore, Tientsin.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for One year and shorter periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

EVERY DESCRIPTION OF BANKING AND EXCHANGE business transacted.

N. IGARASHI,
Manager.

Post Box No. 207.
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

THE SUMITOMO BANK, LIMITED.

(Incorporated in Japan.)

Capital Paid up Yen 15,000,000.
Reserve Fund Yen 1,600,000.

HEAD OFFICE:—OSAKA, JAPAN.

BRANCHES AND AGENTS:
Bombay, Kyoto, San Francisco, Hakata, London, Shanghai, Hankow, Moji, Shimoda, Hiroshima, Nippon, Yokohama, Kobe, Osaka, etc.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed at rates to be ascertained on application.

EVERY DESCRIPTION OF BANKING AND EXCHANGE BUSINESS transacted.

J. SATO, Manager,
Church Gate Street, Bombay.

THE EASTERN BANK, LTD.

(Incorporated in England.)

Bankers to the Government in Buraah.

SAVINGS DEPOSITS ACCOUNTS.

The Bank receives Savings Deposits on the following terms:—

Interest is allowed at the rate of 3 1/2 per cent. per annum on the minimum balance, up to but not exceeding Rs. 3,000 at the credit of an account between the 6th and the last business days of each calendar month.

Deposits may be made in the names of two or more persons and may be made payable to any one or more of them, or to the survivor or survivors.

Copies of the rules are obtainable on application at the Bank.

BANKING

CHARTERED BANK OF IN- DIA, AUSTRALIA & CHINA

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND BY
ROYAL CHARTER, 1883.

Capital 21,200,000
Reserve Fund 21,300,000
Reserve Liability of Shareholders 21,200,000

HEAD OFFICE:

25, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

AGENCIES AND BRANCHES:
INDIA, BURMA, STRAITS & CHINA & CEYLON, MALAY STATES, JAPAN.

Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Cawnpore, Tuticorin, Cochin, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, East Africa, Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, Jinja, Kampala, Entebbe, Tanga, East Africa, Dar-es-Salaam, East Africa.

NEW YORK and all Banks in Australia.

BANKERS—Bank of England, London City and Midland Bank, London, County and Westminster Bank, National Provincial Bank of England, National Bank of Scotland.

The CORPORATION grant DEPOSITS on the above Agencies and Branches and also on the principal Commercial Cities throughout the world, buy and receive for collection FILLS OF EXCHANGE, issue TRAVELLING LETTERS OF CREDIT and undertake general Banking business of every description.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. Interest is allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on the minimum monthly balance of not under Rs. 1,000 and not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 but no interest is allowed when the sum accrued does not amount to Rs. 5 half-yearly. Amounts above Rs. 1,00,000 will be received on terms which may be ascertained upon application.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, STOCKS and SHARES bought and sold on account of clients, and also received for safe custody and collection of interest and dividends, when due.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for twelve months and shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

J. KEENAN,
Agent.

Esplanade Road,
Post Box No. 34, Bombay.

Office Hours—10.30 a.m. to 4.0 p.m.
Saturday—10.30 a.m. to 2.0 p.m.

HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CORPORATION.

(Incorporated in Hongkong.)

Subscribed Capital \$15,000,000
Reserve Liability of Proprietors \$15,000,000
Silver Reserve Fund \$18,500,000
Gold Reserve Fund \$1,500,000

COURT OF DIRECTORS AND HEAD OFFICE IN HONGKONG.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE IN LONDON

BRANCHES:

Amoy, Johore, Saigon, Bangkok, Kobe, San Francisco, Batavia, Kwa Lumpur, Shanghai, Hongkong, London, Do Hongkong, Canton, Malacca, Singapore, Colombo, Nagasaki, Manila, Cebu, Yokohama, Peking, New York, Tientsin, Hankow, Penang, Yioho, Hongkong, Rangoon.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on Daily Balances of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 provided that the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 5 half-yearly.

FIXED DEPOSITS. Are received for varying periods up to 12 months on terms which may be ascertained on application. Drafts granted on London and the chief Commercial places in Europe, India, Australia, America, China and Japan. Credits granted. Bills purchased and every description of Banking and Exchange business transacted.

J. D. SMART,
Agent.

40, Churchgate Street.

THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA LIMITED.

(Incorporated in England.)

Subscribed Capital 21,125,000
Paid-up Capital 25,62,500
Reserve Liability of Shareholders 25,62,500
Reserve Fund 2,600,000

HEAD OFFICE:

15, Gracechurch Street, London, E. C.

LONDON BANKERS:

The Bank of England.

BRANCHES AND AGENCIES:

Bombay, Hongkong, Kwa Lumpur, Calcutta, Howrah, Madras, Rangoon, Penang, Singapore, Ceylon, Malacca, Manila, Yokohama, Kobe, Osaka, etc.

The Bank negotiates and collects Bills and drafts, and issues Letters of Credit for the use of Travellers.

The Bank receives Deposits on the following terms:—

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. Opened and interest allowed thereon at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances up to Rs. 1 lakh.

EVERY DESCRIPTION OF BANKING AND EXCHANGE business undertaken.

Sums above Rs. 1 lakh will be received on terms to be ascertained on application.

FIXED DEPOSITS. Fixed deposits are received for twelve months and shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

NEW BRITISH WAR LOANS.—The Bank undertakes applications for these Loans on account of Constituents, and collection of interest thereon as it falls due FREE OF COMMISSION.

J. B. CRICHTON,
Manager.

Esplanade Road, Bombay.

INSURANCE

THE INDUSTRIAL & PRUDENTIAL

ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

(HEAD OFFICE: BOMBAY.)

Chairman—The Hon'ble Sir FAZUL-
BHOY CURRIMBHAY, Kt.

Attractive Schemes at Low Rates.

For Prospectus and further particulars—

Apply to—

SECRETARIES & MANAGERS,

JIVANLAL, DASTUR & Co.,

112, Esplanade Road, Fort.

THE ZENITH LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

HEAD OFFICE—BOMBAY.

Managing Agents:—H. M. MEHTA & Co.

Policiesholders can vote at meetings of the Company and thus have a voice in its management.

Funds are invested in Government and other Securities authorised by the Indian Trust Act.

The Rates of Premiums are equitable for India, and the lowest that can with safety be offered to the assured.

Policies issued on most liberal conditions and unnecessary restrictions abolished.

For Prospectus, forms and other particulars, please apply to:—

N. B. LALA,

Secretary.

123, Esplanade Road, Fort,

Bombay.

WANTED—Influential and active Agents throughout India and elsewhere.

INSURE YOUR LIFE IN

THE NATIONAL INDIAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.,

LIMITED;

Because—

- (1) It is one of the foremost Indian Life Offices of unquestionable security.
- (2) It offers world-wide policies at moderate rates.
- (3) It is one of the very few offices issuing policies with Automatic Protection.
- (4) Its policies have no irksome restrictions.

For further information, Prospectus, etc., please apply to—

THE GENERAL AGENTS,

Bombay and Deccan,

42, Meadows Street,

BOMBAY.

HOTELS

CORONATION DURBAR RESTAURANT

21, Church Gate Street, Fort.

Falooda and Moglai Dishes

our Speciality.

THE EVER POPULAR EMPRESS HOTEL

NASIK ROAD

DEOLALI.

MODERATE CHARGES

FAMOUS FOR COUSINE

SPACIOUS GYMKHANA.

PARISIAN DAIRY Co., Tamarind Lane,

Fort, Bombay, for high class Table

Butter, Rich Cream and Milk. 663

Bombay, 14th May, 1917.

SALE BY AUCTION

MENESSE & CO.

35, HUMNUM STREET FORT.

AUCTION SALE OF GOODS, GRAIN

SWEEPINGS, ETC.

Under instructions from the B. B. and C. J. Railway Company, Messrs. MENESSE & Co. will sell by Public Auction, on SATURDAY, 19th May, 1917, at 2.30 p.m. (S.T.), at the Railway Company's Goods Depot, at Carmee Bridge:—

A number of bags of grain and seeds and a quantity of grain sweepings and other miscellaneous goods, etc.

AUCTION SALE OF Unclaimed and Con-

signed Goods, belonging to the Govern-

ment Customs Department.

In accordance with Section 88 of the Sea

Customs Act VIII of 1878, under instructions

from the Collector of Customs, Messrs.

MENESSE & Co. will sell by Public

Auction, at the Town Customs House, on

TUESDAY, the 15th May, 1917, at 2 p.m.

(S.T.), the following goods:—

Glassware, medicine, sticks, provisions,

earthenware, beer, wine, cotton singlets,

chips

AMUSEMENTS.

EXCELSIOR THEATRE

TO-NIGHT AT 6-30 AND 9-30 p.m.

Mr. MAURICE E. BANDMAN

presents

H. M. GOVERNMENT TOUR

of the Latest and Greatest of the

OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT WAR FILMS

THE

BATTLE OF THE ANCRE

AND THE

ADVANCE OF THE TANKS

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE AND PRESENCE OF

H. E. LORD WILLINGDON, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

ALSO

GLIMPSES OF THE NAVY IN WAR TIME

FILMED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND.

FILMS THAT WILL LIVE IN HISTORY.

PRICES:

At 9-30 p.m. Rs. 4, 3, 2, 1 and As. 8.
At 6-30 p.m. Rs. 3, 2, 1 and As. 8, 4.

PLAN AT ROSE & Co.



SEE

THIS GENUINELY
THRILLING
PICTURE

TO-NIGHT

7, 8-45 & 10-30 p.m.

The greatest serial
yet.AT
IMPERIAL
THE PREMIER
PICTURE PALACE
OF BOMBAY.LAMINTON ROAD.
7, 8-45 & 10-30 p.m.The greatest serial
yet.Read the Thrilling Story of the Shielding Shadow in this paper every
Monday and Friday.

FOR A FEW DAYS ONLY!

AT MUSTAN TANK, BELLASIS ROAD

Our LIONS and TIGERS are so beautifully trained that they
alone are well worth a visit.

TO-NIGHT!

AT 9-30 P.M.!!

TO-NIGHT!!!

Prof. Parsharamrao's
NEW GRAND CIRCUS

AND

ROYAL MENAGERIE OF PERFORMING WILD ANIMALS

Marvellous performances—absolutely the best ever
presented by any circus.Special tram cars will run every night after the show is
over from the Bellasis Road Siding.Prof. PARSHARAMRAO,
Proprietor.R. V. PATWARDHAN,
Manager.

AMUSEMENTS.

ARE YOU
A FATALIST?

WHETHER YOU ARE OR NOT,
WE WOULD RECOMMEND YOU
TO COME & VIEW THE WORLD-
FAMOUS ARMANDOVAY'S PRO-
DUCTION

THE
AVALANCHE OF FATE

A strong, stirring, intensely human
Story with touches of love and hate,
greed and treachery, Patriotism and
Sacrifice.
To miss this Film is to miss a really
good entertainment that has a power-
ful moral.

OLYMPIA CINEMA
SANDHURST ROAD,

HALF PRICES. Nightly:—7, 8-45 & 10-30 p.m.

JUDITH OF BETHULIA.

AN EXAMPLE OF DIVINITY AND PURITY.

SATURDAY 12th to FRIDAY 18th MAY, 1917.

Full of Thrill and Exploits.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CINEMA

SANDHURST ROAD (Golpitha).

ROYAL OPERA
HOUSE.

PREMIER THEATRE OF THE EAST.

EVERY EVENING AT 6-45 & 10

GREAT SUCCESS OF THE

NEW PROGRAMME

DANCES AND COMIC SKETCH

BY

SIGNOR MALAGA

AND

SIGNORITA MALAGA

CINEMA

"NIGHT SHADOWS."

A Drama in which a husband's jealousy
leads the plot.

"THE MASKED WOMAN."

A young man inexperienced in life is
ensnared in the clutches of a woman whom
he finds out through the assistance of his
sister.

AND THE LATEST

PATHE GAZETTE.

Showing: Count Zeppelin Dead, Por-
tuguese Recruits leaving Lisbon for train-
ing, Presentation of Posthumous Honours
by Brig. Gen. Colomb at Northampton,
Eton Boys at work on the land, etc.,THE BEST THEATRE ORCHESTRA IN
THE EAST.Prices: Re. 1/8, Re. 1, Ans. 8 & 4.
Box seats Rs. 2.

PALACE OF VARIETIES

6-30 TO-NIGHT 10 p.m.

GAIETY THEATRE EDWARDES

THE

GAIETY REVUE COMPANY

Presents

OUR GREAT LOCAL

AND

TOPICAL REVUE

BOMBAY BY NIGHT

SCENE I.

Mrs. LOVELESS' BUNGALOW

IN COLABA.

THE NEGLECTED WIFE.

The Wonderful Deductions of

SUPDT. ROBERT, C.I.D.

SEE THE FLAPPER BRIGADE.

SCENE II.

VICTORIA GARDENS.

CAUGHT RED-HANDED.

SCENE III.

SEE OUR IDEA OF THE

DIVORCE COURTS

Watch the Proceedings

THE FAMOUS PARSII PLEADER

The first part will be preceded by our

STANDARD VAUDEVILLE

THURSDAY MAY 17TH

A Merry Naval

Musical Comedy

THE MUFF GIRL

AMUSEMENTS.

THE WEATHER

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

SIMLA, May 12.

Disturbed conditions prevailed yesterday
over northern India but the weather is
clearing in Sind and Rajputana. Rainfall
has been nearly general in Assam, Chota
Nagpur; local in Lower Burma, Bengal,
north west Frontier Province, Central
India east and Madras coast. A few falls
also occurred in Bihar, United Provinces,
the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana.

Principal amounts are Cherrapunji four
inches, Shillong, Tezpur, Gauhati and
Berhampore one, Mymensingh two, Bogra,
Hazaribagh one and half, Patna, Mussooree
one, Bikaner one and half.

Forecast:—Increase of rain in eastern
part of Central Provinces and of Central
India diminution in Rajputana.

DAILY WEATHER REPORT.

Summary of observations recorded at 8
hours on Saturday, the 12th May 1917, giving
data for the preceding 24 hours.

The Punjab—Rawalpindi reports 0.17 in.
during a thunderstorm. Skies are heavily
clouded in the north Punjab and clear or
lightly clouded elsewhere. The air is damper
than usual. Temperature continues in
defect.

The United Provinces.—Skies are lightly or
moderately clouded. The air is damper than
usual. Temperature continues in defect.

Sind and Rajputana.—Bikaner reports 1.58
in. of rain and Ajmer 0.37 in. during thun-
derstorms. Skies are clear or lightly clouded.
Humidity is normal or in excess. Tempera-
ture continues in defect in Rajputana.

Gujarat, Kathiawar and Central India
West.—Rainfall has been local in Central
India West; Neemuch has had 0.17 in.
Skies are lightly or moderately clouded.
Humidity is normal or in excess. Tempera-
ture is in defect except at Ddarda and Deesa.

The Central Provinces.—Jubbulpore re-
ports 0.10 in. of rain. Skies are clear or
lightly clouded. Humidity is normal or in
excess. Temperature continues in defect.

The Konkan.—Skies are lightly clouded.
The Bombay Deccan and Hyderabad.—
Skies are clear or lightly clouded. Humidity
is normal or in excess. Temperature is
generally in defect.

General Remarks.—The depression in
north-west India has given local thunder-
showers in the north Punjab, west Rajputana
and Central India West and some thunder-
showers in east Rajputana and the Central
Provinces. It has however decreased in
intensity. A few showers have occurred also
on the Coromandel coast.

A few dust or thunderstorms may occur
to the north of latitude 25 deg. N and a few
showers on the Coromandel coast.

TEMPERATURE IN BOMBAY.

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY, COLABA;		Bombay, 11th May 1917.	
Means of observations taken at 8 a.m. 10 a.m. 2 p.m.		4 p.m. and 10 p.m.	
Barometer corrected to 32 deg. Fahr.	29.805	Inch.	
Temperature of Air	84.7	Deg.	
Wet Bulb Thermometer	75.5	"	
Dew Point	75.4	"	
Relative humidity	69.2	"	
Extremes of cloudy sky (the whole sky)	3.6	"	
cloudy—100	90.0	"	
Maximum temperature	80.2	"	
Minimum	75.0	"	
General direction of Wind from midnight	W.		
Movement of Wind	do		
	170 Miles.		

SUN, MOON AND TIDES AT BOMBAY.

The following are the hours and height
of the tides in Bombay Harbour during the
ensuing week. Hour stated in Bombay Mean
Time depth of water is at Prince's Dock:—

HIGH WATER.		LOW WATER.	
Date	Time	Date	Time
May 13	h. m.	May 13	h. m.
Sat. 13	2 27 16 11	13	8 18 16 2
Sun. 14	3 22 17 9	14	9 36 19 7
Mon. 15	4 17 27 21	15	10 52 19 6
Tues. 16	5 12 24 11	16	12 04 18 5
Wed. 17	6 07 24 11	17	1 10 18 10
Thur. 18	7 02 24 11	18	2 15 18 10
Fri. 19	8 02 24 11	19	3 20 18 10
Sat. 20	9 02 24 11	20	4 25 18 10

The following are the hours of sunrise and
sunset according to Indian Standard Time
during the ensuing week:—

Date	Sunrise	Sunset
May 12 (Saturday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
13 (Sunday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
14 (Monday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
15 (Tuesday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
16 (Wednesday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
17 (Thursday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.
18 (Friday)	5h. 5m.	7h. 4m.

PHASES OF THE MOON.—New Moon, April 21st, 7h.
11-5m. p.m.; First Quarter, 29th, 1h. 54m. a.m.;
Full Moon, May 7th, 5h. 13-5m. a.m.; Last Quarter,
14th, 7h. 17-5m. a.m.

STANDARD BAROMETER READING.

The following information is published in
order that vessels in the Bombay Harbour
may by comparison with a standard instru-
ment ascertain the errors of their baro-
meters:—

The reading of the Standard Barometer in
the Colaba Observatory corrected for index
error and reduced to 80 deg. F. and to the
level of the tide at 8-45 a.m. Standard Time,
on the 12th May 1917 was 29.931 inches. For
temperature corrections applicable to mercur-
ial barometer of ships the reading of the
ship's barometer has to be increased or de-
creased by 0.01 inch for every 5 degrees ac-
cording as the temperature of the attached
thermometer is respectively below or above
80 deg. F. In case of the aneroid no tempera-
ture correction is needed. But for comparison
at 80 deg. F. all aneroid readings should be
increased by .138 inch. For correcting the
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INDIA'S NEW POSITION IN THE EMPIRE.

The following is the full text of the presidential address delivered by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, at the Seventeenth Provincial Conference at Nasik which began its sittings on Saturday:-

Since this Conference met last at Ahmedabad, two events of first-rate importance have happened: the session of the Imperial War Conference at the seat of the empire, and the adoption of a scheme of post-war reforms by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. The whole country rejoices that the representatives of India were admitted to the Imperial Conference on terms of perfect equality with those of the Dominions and that they everywhere met with the utmost cordiality and consideration, while by their personal bearing and patriotic utterances they have sustained the honour of India and are entitled to our gratitude and appreciation. Touching the actual results of the Conference, the cablegrams so far received, although they contain momentous news, do not enable us to obtain precise notions. In the first place, the members of the Conference unanimously recommended that India should have full representation at future Imperial Conferences and that the Government concerned should be moved to give their consent to the arrangement. But what does "full representation" mean? If the representatives of each Government are to have only one vote between them, more significance attaches to the quality of the representatives than to their number. Speaking for myself, the country has been particularly lucky this time in the gentlemen chosen by Government to champion its interests. But luck cannot always be counted upon. The other Governments are composed of elected leaders of the people, and their choice may be held to be the same as the people's choice. In the case of India it may happen that the persons chosen by Government do not command the confidence of the public and that the views which they express at the Conference are conformable to the wishes of the Government but not to those of the country. It would be necessary to secure that the nominees of our Government should have been recommended to them on behalf of the public by some electorate like the elected members of the Indian Legislative Council or the elected members of the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils. This method is obviously unsuitable to obtain the official representatives or the representatives of the ruling chiefs, should such representatives be required for future Conferences as well. On this, as on other important aspects, however, we have no information to go upon. One observation, however, may be made with absolute certainty. The idea that the Secretary of State can represent the people of India in the Imperial Conference is untenable, if not ridiculous. Says Mr. Silburn on this subject with reference to the conference of 1907, "It cannot be said that the Secretary of State for India was the proper personage to represent some 294 millions of people at a conference, the other delegates at which were directly representing the people of countries they were personally acquainted with by long residence." Another matter, but one which affords satisfaction, is that the Conference unanimously approved of the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India and commended the memorandum presented by our representatives on our position in those countries, to the favourable consideration of the Dominion Governments. Here, again, till we know the text of the memorandum, we can have no idea what 'reciprocity' connotes and cannot judge the exact gain to our credit.

INDIA AND IMPERIAL COMMON-
WEALTH.

A third resolution, transcending the others in far-reaching consequence to India, enunciates some of the principles to be borne in mind when a special Imperial Conference will sit immediately after the war to consider the relations of the component parts of the Empire in the future. In other words, the basis of the future Imperial Commonwealth. One of the principles is that India as well as the Dominions should have an adequate voice in the determination of foreign policy and foreign relations. So far so good. But what about this other principle, that any readjustment should recognise the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and India as an important portion thereof? Does it mean that our representatives have consented to an arrangement which even in the future will place India on an inferior level to the Dominions? Or does it mean that, though India may see no change in her internal constitution, she will age in as far as the Commonwealth is concerned, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, equal status with the self-governing Dominions? Constitutional experts are no doubt infinite, and the arguments are no

stitution-makers is not easily baffled. But we cannot refrain from asking, how will this equality of status be made compatible with India's position as a Dependency of Great Britain? How can she, in her character as such, cast her vote in the Parliament of the Commonwealth independently of Great Britain, as the Dominions will? If the idea is that, while she has a vote, it will always be cast with Great Britain's, it is only a device to secure the domination of Great Britain, and the boasted equality of India with the Dominions is nominal. Independence of Great Britain in the Commonwealth Parliament is a greater thing constitutionally than independence of Great Britain in internal affairs. Are we to get the greater thing, while we are still to be denied the smaller? On the contrary the self-governing status appears to us almost a sine qua non of India becoming an equal partner in the future Commonwealth. Perhaps, however, we are taking too much for granted in supposing that a Commonwealth with a defined constitution will take shape as a direct result of the deliberations of the special post-war Conference. Great complexities surround the problem, and informed opinion is by no means unanimous in the United Kingdom or the Colonies as to the feasibility or the desirability of a comprehensive Imperial constitution. Professor Dicey and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to name only two, have not yet become converts to the new gospel of a Federated Empire. Indian opinion cannot count for much in this mighty issue. In the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League, it has only one clause to itself, although that clause is comprehensive enough: "In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal right." The governing resolution of the National Congress is briefer still and enunciates India's status, both internal and external. "That in the reconstruction of the Empire India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions."

INDIAN OPINION AND IMPERIAL
FEDERATION.

Indian opinion is by no means enthusiastic for an Imperial Federation. For obvious reasons, it has concentrated on the acquisition of internal autonomy. The people of India believe that, so long as their representatives are nothing in internal affairs, they cannot be anything in external affairs, whatever the constitution may provide; and they believe further that, when India becomes autonomous, she will know how to secure her proper rights in the larger councils of the Empire. Powerful feelings arising from the contemplation of hopes long deferred, pledges unfulfilled and rights denied, impel Indian politicians to work for self-government, and those who ignore this circumstance ignore the most vital element in the situation and can never hope to understand the problem of India's aspirations. The logical mind of the Indian perceives an inconsistency in the plan of his Anglo-Indian brother, who advocates a position of equality for India in the Federation of the Empire but resists the movement for internal freedom. But incongruities and logical flaws do not disturb those who have been brought up to believe in the perfection of the British constitution. To them it is enough that a constitution is workable and bids fair to become a tolerably efficient means of promoting the happiness of the community. So we find Mr. Lionel Curtis sketching the outline of a Federal Parliament with a nominee Upper House and a wholly elected Lower House, in both of which the people of India should be adequately represented, though he knows that they do not enjoy such a privilege in their own country and in fact, commends the scheme to their acceptance expressly on the ground that it will provide Indians with a voice in the determination of the steps by which and the pace at which they should advance towards full responsible government in internal affairs. This assumes that the Federation movement outside India will reach consummation far sooner than the Home Rule movement inside India, which is indeed bidden to wait on such chance as the former may have of success. Which of these two movements is the simpler and more urgent? Mr. Curtis moves with confidence among the considerations that make up the question of Imperial Federation. He does not understand, and is naturally deficient in dealing with, the questions connected with Indian Home Rule. The position of the average Indian politician is exactly the reverse. He is

familiar with the many aspects of the nationalist movement in this country, while he walks with unsteady steps along the intricate paths that lead to the great British Commonwealth. Each may be pardoned then if he has a different opinion from the other as to which of the two is to come first and which second—Imperial Federation or Indian self-government.

MR. CURTIS' CHANGED VIEWS.

Mr. Curtis, indeed, has now convinced himself that India can and must have responsible government as soon as possible and is willing to countenance her endeavours in that direction, so far as he considers them proper and legitimate. The average Indian politician is in a worse predicament. He is not satisfied that Imperial Federation must come and is not therefore prepared to grapple with the difficulties of that problem. Scanning the meagre message of Reuters, one reads a note of hesitation and doubt in the resolution of the Imperial War Conference in this particular subject. The cable says, "The readjustment should provide for effective arrangements for continuous consultations on all important matters of common imperial interest and for such concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments determine." The expressions I have put in italics do not lend themselves to the interpretation that an Imperial Federation is definitely decided upon. On the contrary, an easy and natural construction of the words leads us to suppose that in the opinion of the members of the Conference the problems of the Empire should be solved by frequent meetings of those interested in them, and that the final responsibility was to rest on the several Governments that met in consultation and not on an Imperial organization created for the purpose. If, however, an Imperial Parliament, such as Mr. Curtis adumbrates, is to be brought into being before India gets responsible government, we should welcome the suggestion that India should be adequately represented in both Houses, and in the Lower House by men of her own free choice. Only this condition is indispensable—that the standard of representation must be the same for all alike, population or total contribution made to the Imperial treasury. Mr. Silburn in his *Governance of Empire* suggests a uni-cameral Parliament for the Federated Empire, with 216 members. When he comes to distribute them, he assigns 67 members to the United Kingdom, 37 to India, 30 to Canada, 16 to South Africa, 12 to New Zealand, 11 to Australia, and so on, thus recognising in the case of India that "to give this portion of the Empire a voice in its governance commensurate with its importance, it is necessary to make that voice second only to that of the United Kingdom." His basis of representation, however, viz., the size of the legislative bodies in the different countries represented, is arbitrary and liable to fluctuation and even manipulation. Lord Sydenham and other critics do not scruple to discount the representative character of our representatives in the various Councils on account of the smallness of the electorates who choose them. The fact is that it suits the bureaucracy, in their rooted opposition to all democratic movements in the country to keep the franchise both narrow and indirect. To-day the franchise may be widened enormously with perfect safety and justice, and instead of the non-official members of local bodies, electing to the Provincial Legislative Councils and the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils electing to the Indian Legislative Council, it is perfectly feasible to create large and enlightened constituencies directly among the people. Mr. Silburn's standard then must be dismissed. When the Federation enthusiasts do not, like Lord Milner, for example, abandon the notions of equality and justice, they are puzzled how to bring India into the organization without giving her a weight and agency which will cast other parts of the Empire into the shade.

OUR DEMAND—THE TIDE IN OUR
FAVOUR.

My heart swells with pride as I think of the momentous resolution which, in mutual concert, our National Congress and our Muslim League came to in the recent Lucknow session, concerning the progress of our people towards self-government. An Indian patriot finds immediately placed in front of him for the first time in the history of our political effort an object worthy of the great nation to which he belongs and the great and varied culture which forms his richest inheritance. Self-government under the British flag, equal partnership in the British Confederation with the United Kingdom and the overseas Dominions, con-

stitutes a destiny which the proudest people need not scorn. This generation of our public workers must count themselves blessed that they are privileged to see the fair vision of emancipated India gather form so quickly and come into vivid view to inspire them with hope and promise denied to their fathers. These are great days; great destinies are taking shape; great ideas are swaying the hearts of men, and great causes have evoked great enthusiasms and exacted great sacrifices. India has not been a silent spectator; happily removed from the thick of the conflict, she still feels that she has enormous stakes in it and throbs with the most lively interest at every turn and shift in the mighty drama which is in progress in most parts of the world. If no belligerent nation can remain its old self after the war, neither can India be held down to her ancient moorings. We in India have likewise new dangers ahead, we have likewise to refashion our polity, we must likewise claim a share of the great principles of popular freedom and opportunity of unhindered self-expression which are being reconquered at terrible cost for human civilization. Come then, all of you who live for something beyond the hour, all whose hearts can feel, all whose souls can be fired to high purpose, come all and aid in this great work. Whether you bring much or little, whether you use pen or tongue, let your heart be pure and your resolve manly. Let us not think too much of the risks and the difficulties. They are great, but so are the forces that fight on our side. Indian blood has not been shed. Indian treasure has not been poured out, in vain. Subtle bonds, unsuspected hitherto, have drawn Englishman and Indian together, new ties of brotherliness and comradeship have been confessed on both sides, and England and India have realised as never before how sorely they need each other. Do not believe it, if anybody tells you that the war should not make, and has not made, any change in our mutual relationship. Hard-headed party leaders have experienced a profound change in their deepest conviction on account of the war. Mr. Asquith, for example, is now a whole-hearted advocate of the franchise for women, and Mr. Bonar Law, alluding to his changed attitude towards the Irish Nationalists and the question of Home Rule gave fine, if somewhat reserved, expression to his newly-awakened generosity, "I do believe," he said, "that this Irish question does act as a handicap upon us in carrying on this war. I do not agree that perhaps we should do it better when the war is over—I am not sure. I know this at least that in this House I myself, and I think that it is true of many others, have a different feeling towards the gentlemen who sit on the Nationalist benches, because of the attitude taken by the leader of their party and by other members of that party who are risking their lives." Whatever some Europeans may say here, and some Indians repeat after them, the people in England and in the Dominions have had a new India revealed to them; and the best among them in all political parties have proclaimed their conviction that India should no longer occupy a low place in the Empire and that Indians should no longer be treated as political inferiors or possible rebels, whom it is wise to keep weak and disarmed. The severe tests of war have proved us beyond a doubt, and the general opinion among those qualified to judge is that England must definitely pledge herself to accord the self-governing status to India. The National Congress and the Muslim League have asked for such a declaration from responsible authorities. The idea must have gained strength from the presence of India's representatives at the seat of the empire among the leading lights of the empire. One of them, Sir S. P. Sinha, had himself pleaded eloquently and passionately for such a declaration when he presided over the Bombay session of the Congress. Even "The Times" of London seems to have felt the need of a changed attitude towards India. In a recent article that great paper says, "The broad lines of policy in India are perfectly clear; it looks steadily forward to the gradual increase of the self-governing function and is only concerned to regulate that increase as good order within and the security against external aggression require, but this policy is too seldom expressed in terms." Then it goes on to urge "that an authoritative declaration on the subject should be made now and not as a reply to agitation after the war."

NO REVOLUTION.

In acute controversy a disavowal or qualification of a statement cannot be

repeated too often. Sometimes in innocence, but sometimes also through perversity, people go on attributing motives and views which go on being repudiated and demolishing arguments which you have never advanced. The political reformers of India are accused of advocating the immediate grant of responsible government, and the use by the reformers themselves of the expressions Home Rule and Colonial Autonomy, not in their rigid constitutional significance as applied to Ireland and to the Self-governing Dominions, but as convenient and commendable descriptions of their demands, has been turned against them as an avowal of a desire to bring about revolutionary changes by such tactics as obstruction and intimidation. The extreme nervousness of those who are responsible for peace and tranquillity in the country enables us to understand their proneness to take alarm on insufficient grounds. But it is difficult to find an adequate excuse for their indiscriminating dislike of all political agitation and their reckless condemnation of moderate leaders as revolutionaries. The scheme of changes embodied in the principal resolution of the recent Lucknow Congress is described as a definite step towards self-government. The framers of the scheme have been anxious that its introduction should not require the scrapping of existing machinery or give cause for the suspicion that they were aiming at the subversion of British rule. The forms of administration will remain untouched. The Governor-General, Governors and Legislatures will be there as ever. The great services, the financial system, the judicial system, and the educational system will continue intact. There will be no dislocation in the Departments. No interests like those of commerce or agriculture will be threatened. The free life of no community and the free practice of no religion will be in peril. Military matters, war and peace, and treaty making will be in the same hands as heretofore. If none of these dire consequences is likely, is it fair or reasonable to spread a panic of coming revolution? We do not wish to conceal the fact that great and substantial changes are contemplated in the scheme. Certain vested interests will suffer; civil authority will change hands, and a great devolution of power will be effected. But these changes, profound as they are, do not involve 'red ruin and the breaking-up of laws.' What great popular movement, intended to satisfy the ambitions of a people long kept down, was ever attended with less change? Congress leaders have laid themselves open to the charge of weakness and undue regard for the susceptibilities of men in power. They have never been guilty of excess of violence. Bureaucracy, long used to irresponsible power, has grown intolerant of criticism and cannot treat political opponents with the broad-mindedness and courtesy which are characteristic of public life in communities in which civil power has ceased to be the monopoly of a class. Fed up with the belief that the people exist for them, rather than they for the people, they naturally think that anything which threatens their privileged position threatens the very root of the established order of things, and any political agitation, of which the tone is not apologetic, appears to them as dangerous and disorderly propaganda. No caste in India has ever been more jealous of its privileges than the Indian Civil Service. They firmly believe that they know everything, that no department can do without them, and that power not in their hands must necessarily be abused. When it is proposed that an elected majority should pass the legislation of the land, control the finance and criticise the executive administration, they naturally think that the proposal, if carried out, will bring down the whole structure of Indian society and cause irretrievable ruin.

TWO CRITICS.

Neither Lord Sydenham nor his Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer can pause, in their paroxysm of indignation, to distinguish between Swadeshim and Sinn Feinism, between constitutional agitation and anarchist conspiracy, between the enthusiastic Congressman and the maniacal bomb-thrower. "You are a saint," says the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, "and your speech is wisdom. But if I fancy that other people misunderstand you, I will shut you up and no mistake." Some assassin took a well-thumbed copy of the Gita to the gallows; that sacred book thenceforward fell under official displeasure. A revolutionary pamphlet contained a quotation from Mazzini; no owner of his works was thereafter free from sus-

picion. A professor in a town, supposed to be infected with seditious delight in expounding Burke to his pupils; the father of English conservatism was thereupon condemned as unfit for university curricula. Lord Sydenham, the angel of innocence, whose educational zeal the perverse Bombay University mistook for political jealousy, sought, happily in vain, to hamish English History from the course of studies for the graduate's degree, because forthwith the virtues of patriotism, love of freedom and brave citizenship which it inculcates are unsuited to Indian youth who must be trained up in the way of submission, servility and sycophancy. Doings like these defeat their own object and create the very evil they are intended to cure. Sir Michael O'Dwyer made us the other day cease from our propaganda, lest it should lead impatient youth to the commission of crime. May we, out of gratitude for this lesson in political science, remind his Honour and those who think like him that unbalanced speeches like his sap the faith of the public in the progressiveness and benevolence of British rule, leave the constitutionalist politician without a following, and swell the ranks of the revolutionary school of thought? The mild Congressmen in India do not need this sort of homily. We have never organized armed resistance to lawful authority and threatened open insurrection, though the career of Sir Edward Carson is not exactly a lesson in the duty of loyal submission to the decrees of Parliament. We do not intend any attempt to overthrow by force the established Government of the land, and hence that no revolutionaries in the country have been led to believe that if they succeeded, the House of Commons and the Privy Council of England would send them an enthusiastic and fervid greeting.

A QUOTATION FOR SIR MICHAEL
O'DWYER.

At this point I wish, with all due respect, to make his Honour a present of an apposite quotation from a recent Irish debate in Parliament. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is an Irishman and naturally feels uneasy at the parallelism frequently drawn between the movement for Irish Home Rule and the Indian struggle for self-government, and is at pains to construct an ingenious argument against it. In one vital particular his Honour's opinion goes decisively against the cherished conviction of most Irish patriots. He would seem to think that the present distracted condition of Ireland is a consequence, indirect it may be, of the mistakes and excesses of the Nationalist Party. Without a doubt they would reply, to use a homely expression, the boot is on the other leg. At the end of a speech, as remarkable for its self-restraint and patriotism as for its pathos, Mr. John Redmond lamented the way in which the vacillation of Government was weakening its influence in Ireland and disclaiming responsibility for future consequences. He said, "The last time I spoke on this matter I said that in my opinion the Government ought to take their courage in both hands and make a definite proposal. That they have not done, I say, no matter who he is, any British statesman who by his conduct teaches once again to the Irish people the lesson that any Nationalist leader endeavours to combine local and imperial patriotism, endeavours to combine loyalty to Ireland's rights with loyalty to the Empire—any one who again teaches the lesson that such a man is certain to be let down and betrayed by this course, is guilty of treason, not merely to the liberties of Ireland, but to the unity, strength and best interests of this Empire. That is the course which, in my judgment, the Irish people will recognise as having been taken by you (indicating the Government front bench), and I warn you of the consequences. How far this action may make the constitutional action in Ireland in the future impossible or not, I cannot say, but certainly the speech of the Right Hon. gentleman (Mr. Lloyd George), his utter refusal to come down, on the responsibility of the Government, with some definite plan to make an appeal to the patriotism of the First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Edward Carson), makes one think, 'Why should all appeals be made to us? Why cannot he—he is capable of it, I am sure—rise to the height of a sacrifice demanded of him and come forward and agree to a proposal which he knows will be accepted by the whole of Ireland and would end this wretched business?'"

NOT THE RIGHT TO SPEAK, BUT THE
RIGHT TO RULE.

One of our mentors gravely tells us that in the legislatures of the land we have the

(Continued on page 6.)

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(Continued from page 5.)

fullest opportunities for the expression of opinion, and he wonders what more we could want. Why, has it never struck him that we too have learnt to worship at the shrine of freedom? Opportunity for the expression of opinion? The time is gone when that would have contented us. We want political power; let there be no mistake about it. We want the right to rule ourselves. Within the last few weeks the world has resounded to the peens of joy which greeted the establishment of democracy in Russia. Men's hearts were stirred, as they have been rarely to the history of the world, when they read the superb message of President Wilson to the American Congress. He said: "Civilization itself seems to be in the balance, but right is more precious than power, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself free at last."

PROSPEROUS YET DISCONTENTED?
I have recently seen a small collection of American opinions of British rule in this country published by Fisher, Davis and heard with surprise that Government had sent copies of it to newspapers. Does Government fancy, for one moment, that we lack in appreciation of the benefits of British rule here? Few understand them and realise their full measure, as the educated classes do, who have read accounts of the disorganized condition of this country when the British came on the scene. And yet it is wrong of them to desire self-government. Only a few days ago, in a debate on the condition of Ireland both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George referred to the material prosperity that the Irish enjoyed, but neither of them wondered at the serious discontent of that people. Hear what the Prime Minister said: "I want to show that the discontent of Ireland is not material; but still there remains one inevitable fact after all this great record of material legislation in spite of the fact that Ireland has ever been, there remains the one inevitable fact to-day that she is no more reconciled to British rule than she was in the days of Cromwell. It proves that the grievance is not a material one, it is something which has to do with the pride and self-respect of the people. I entreat the House of Commons and the British people to get that well into their minds. It is a fact which must be grasped by the House of Commons or by any government which means to attempt a settlement of this question." On a later occasion Mr. Bonar Law emphasized the same truth. "I know what the views of Nationalist members are and I do not agree with my noble friend that the only thing you have to think of with respect to the government of Ireland is to set up a government that will govern in the best way. I do not think so at all. I think that very often a very bad form of government, if it is with the consent and goodwill of the people governed, will work infinitely better than a much better system without that consent and goodwill."

WHAT IS REAL LOVE OF LIBERTY?
Historians teach us that the prosperity and glory of ancient empires were hollow, because they were built upon slavery, that even the boasted republics of old had no real freedom because it was denied to the large numbers of slaves who were never included among the citizens of the State. There is no slavery now in the British Empire, but a huge deduction must be made from the boast that it stands for the principles of individual liberty and perfect equality when it is remembered that the coloured people whom the whites hold in political subjection and cruelly treat with contempt and even cruelly vasty outnumber them. Love of liberty should include the love of liberty for other people as well as for yourself. To grant freedom voluntarily to subject peoples is an act of chivalry between nations, which is of the rarest occurrence in history. The republicans of Russia in the abolition of their freedom resolved to strike of the fetters of the Poles and allowed them to thrust out a constitution for themselves in a convention based on universal suffrage. In British India the people are exhorted by government officials not to worry about their political advance, because the governments in India and in England are thinking of the matter earnestly. It may be said that Polish freedom was a public measure in time of war. That could not be said of the freedom to the Filipinos by the United States of America. So far from exploiting the poor islands which they had required, the Americans, worshippers though they be of the mighty dollar, spent it, has been said, large sums of their own on educating and elevating the Filipinos. In granting these people a full measure of home rule out of free will and without threat or pressure from outside, the greatest republic of the world has proved itself likewise the noblest republic. So long as men can appreciate magnanimity and altruism, the people of the United States will be honoured as the most selfless and unselfish champions of international freedom. England, famed in history not without cause as the home of liberty, has yielded the first place in this immortal roll. The republic of Russia has taken the second place. Let England look out before the third place is occupied and bethink herself of her duty to India.

STEP BY STEP.

The Filipinos had the whole of their political education in less than 29 years. In a generation Japan replaced her feudal institutions by a Parliamentary form of government. Canada, Australia and South Africa attained responsible government in a few quick steps. The people of India with a civilization going beyond the dawn of history during which they have evolved

many forms of government and systems of administration of their own, are told after more than a century of British rule that they are not yet fit to govern themselves. His Honour the Pundit said that we must wait till we were more educated as a people than we are, till we had laid aside our religious and social animosities and till we had gained greater political experience. Progress in all these three directions is likely to be sure and quicker if we were self-governing than under the present regime. As an abstract proposition, one cannot quarrel with the caution that you must progress 'step by step,' that what India wants, to use the words of H. E. the Viceroy, is not rapid progress but steady progress, that the genius of the British constitution is opposed to catastrophic changes. But why are these reasonable and obvious maxims so frequently preached to us? We have won quite a name in the world for slowness for progress, and for 'remarkable tolerance of the existing state of things.' Japan, the self-governing Dominions, the Philippines, all began their upward career after we came under British rule, but they caught us up long ago and have left us behind by a period which, measured in more years, is considerable, but measured by differences in education, material prosperity, social efficiency and other elements of civilization, seems almost an age and gives cause for disquietude, if not despair.

HOW MANY STEPS? HOW LONG?

Let us take two aspects of progress, and see in what time the advice of our bureaucratic friends will take us to the promised land. First, the composition of our legislative councils. Constituted in 1853, they worked for eight years before the first Indian found entry into them by nomination. Thirty years passed before the next step was taken, a period within which other peoples found it possible to begin and consummate their political evolution. This step consisted of a slight increase of non-official Indians, some of whom came in by a subsidiary process of election, not recognized in law. Seventeen more years passed before election became a reality, and the provincial legislatures had a majority of non-officials, which has proved a delusion and a snare. What is the next step to be, and when will it be taken? Perhaps we should get an elected majority in two years more, that is, ten years after the last reform. Of course, this majority would be bare and utterly ineffective. To make it decisive, at least one decade would be necessary. Our members would then take us in successive decades through such fractions as two-thirds, three-fourths, four-fifths, till in another half a century we might have a wholly elective legislature in the advanced provinces. Of course a longer period would be required for the Indian Legislative Council and the Councils of the backward provinces to reach this level. Our second task shall be applied to our progress as regards the public service. Here unfortunately many of the steps to be recorded are but policy and pious promise. It was in 1833 that Parliament recognised the absolute equality of Indians with British subjects, and the Court of Directors gave the plea of the statute to be that there should be no governing caste in British India. In 1873 some Members of Parliament advocated that no effect had been given to this noble policy. In 1878 the policy was solemnly enunciated in the Queen's Proclamation. In 1880 a committee of the Secretary of State's Council recommended simultaneous examinations. Of course the report was shelved. In 1870 another statute made special provision for the entry of qualified Indians into the Civil Service, but no immediate effect was given to it. In 1877 Lord Lytton on behalf of the Crown solemnly renewed the assurance of equality. In 1879 the first rules were made in a guiding spirit for the admission of Indians to the extent of one-sixth. But this proportion was not actually reached. In 1880 the first Public Service Commission was appointed to examine this question. In 1892 a Provincial Civil Service was constituted, the members of which could be appointed to 93 Indian posts belonging to the Indian Civil Service. But the proportion which this number represented has not been worked up to. The next landmark is the appointment of the recent Public Service Commission in 1912. Their recommendation is that Indians should be admitted by means of an examination in India and by nomination to one-fourth of the posts in the Indian Civil Service. The dissenting member, Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim, who is charged with reckless audacity, has recommended that the proportion should be one third, omitting of course the judicial posts. What actually will be done one can't say. So here we stand. Eighty-four years after statutory affirmation of our equality we are still looking forward to getting something between a fourth and a third of the chief administrative posts in our own country. And the whole history is marked by noble sentiments and prophecies, backsliding, bitter recommitment and petty graceless concession. Can a people who have endured this sort of thing be accused of seeking to introduce catastrophic or revolutionary changes or effect a 'sudden upheaval' and a 'startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands'?

A NEW WORLD WANTS NEW PRINCIPLES.

We cannot afford to stand still or creep along at a snail's or a turtle's pace, when all the world is round with fresh and bounding energy. No, our friends must shake themselves up and adopt larger units and more generous measures. This is no time for puny programmes, faint-hearted endeavours and grandmotherly precepts. Mr. Lloyd George, whose every speech in these days is replete with stimulus and nourishment for the political reformer, said in vivid and picturesque phrase: "The future of the country depends upon how much politicians have learned. I have heard of politicians who think that when the war is over the same old machinery will be re-established and the same old methods applied. People who don't know politicians think them wild revolutionaries. A wild revolution is the most reactionary word in the world."

Before the war there were five absolutely independent parties in this country. People are now discovering that none of these had a monopoly of wisdom or was the sole repository of political sagacity, and even the five put together. People are realising that there are more things in heaven and earth than the political philosophy of any of these parties. That is one of the revelations we have seen in the lurid fires of war. When after the war reconstruction begins, I hope, trust and pray that we are not going to dive into pigeon-holes of any party for dust-laden precedents and programmes. Let us think out the best methods for ourselves in the face of the searching facts of which we knew nothing before the war. The experience of generations has been crowded into just a few winters and we should be unworthy of the great destiny to which Providence has called this generation if we threw away all that for the sake of the formulas framed before the flood." Here is the testimony of a very different sort of man, General Smuts comes from a land not known to be a congenial soil for generous policies or liberal movements. "Let me give you one word of warning. In thinking of this matter, do not try to think of existing political institutions which have been evolved in the course of European developments. The British Empire is a much larger and more diverse problem than anything we have seen hitherto, and the sort of constitution we read about in books, the sort of political alphabets which has been elaborated in years gone by, does not apply and would not solve the problems of the future. We should follow precedents but make them. I feel sure that the coming years when this problem is in process of solution—because it will never be finally and perfectly solved—you will find our political thought will be turned into quite new channels and will not follow what has been anywhere else either in the old world or in the new; because after all we are built on freedom."

THE GREAT POLITICAL LESSON.

When I read speeches like these, I occasionally wonder what the censor is doing. "They may be all right in England, but when you and I and other Congressmen read them here, is not their tendency inflammatory?" If I were a bureaucrat of the type of Sir Michael O'Dwyer I would prohibit Mr. Lloyd George from speaking on the Russian Revolution for the next two years. When will these irresponsible orators in Parliament learn to consider the effect of their utterances on the minds of Indian politicians? Here again is Mr. Bonar Law, thrown off his guard in the heat of debate, giving the outside world a glimpse of the secrets of the Cabinet and letting them know of the weaknesses and temptations of the rulers of men. Could he not have refrained from saying this inconvenient thing at the end of the debate on Indian Cotton Duties in the House of Commons? "This was the position in which they were placed. They knew there would be some trouble in Lancashire though they did not anticipate it would be so great. But what they had to decide from the point of view of the war was whether there was likely to be more trouble at home or in India. That was the question, and it was on that basis that they gave their vote." (Mr. Dillon: Where there is most trouble you give in?) That is another way of putting it. (Laughter.) Whatever did give trouble politically was a thing which, if it could be avoided, ought to be avoided. The strong Indian ruler, according to Lord Sydenham, should avoid even the appearance of yielding to clamour or making a concession for fear of trouble. Such softness as Mr. Bonar Law has confessed, if manifested in India, would lead straight to disaster. That is why the ex-Governor of Bombay adjures the authorities to reject the memorandum of the venturesome "Nineteen" promptly and ignominiously. Else what would they not do next? Happily, we are not mere babes, we know a little of the way public affairs are managed. Legislators and statesmen, however far they may see into the future, cannot act till events ripen and almost force their hands. Often they have to choose the lesser of two evils, for, if challenged, they must be able to say, "I did it only because I saw that if I did not do it there would be more harm than if I did it." In my limited experience there has been one clear case in which a leading official said, "I agree to your suggestion, but before I can adopt it there must be such an expression of public opinion as to make it appear inevitable." That is the secret of constitutional political agitation. Our cause has many friends both in England and in India, but they can do very little for it till by our action we can give it such momentum as to make it inevitable.

DUTY ON COTTON IMPORTS.

The subject of the enhanced import duty on cotton next claims our attention, not only because of its intrinsic importance to the economic welfare of India, but because it illustrates in a striking manner the shortcomings of our successes and the way in which every hope in human affairs is dogged by fear. In the first place let us be clear as to the precise value of this forward policy on the part of our Government. The 4 per cent. enhancement of cotton duty is primarily for the purpose of increasing the revenue and thereby helping the Government of India to pay off the annual obligations which they have incurred on account of the war gift of £100,000,000 made by India to Britain. But as it is not counterbalanced by a similar rise in the excise duties on local cotton manufactures, it acts also as a measure of protection to our cotton industry and has for that reason been welcomed in India as the first breach made in the free trade policy imposed upon us by our political suzerain. The bulk of enlightened Indian opinion has demanded fiscal independence, so that before other things we may protect our feeble industries from the cheap free-trade goods of Britain. It is by such anti-British tariffs that the self-governing Dominions have built up their manufacturing industries. We wish to be allowed to proceed along the same way to industrial prosperity, but our status as a

Dependency of Great Britain has deprived us of the liberty to do so. The war gift that we have willingly made to ease the burden of England's debt entails for a period of thirty years and possibly more a heavy annual liability, which our feeble financial system can bear only with great strain. It is, therefore, more necessary than ever that we should have freedom to husband our resources all we can and increase our productive powers. England, whose cause primarily our finance is being strained, is under a moral obligation to grant us fiscal autonomy. We have the right to expect that we should be allowed to proceed further in this direction as our interests may require from time to time. But there is reason to apprehend that we may have to retrace even this step that we have taken, for owing to the opposition of Lancashire representatives the resolution sanctioning the cotton duties was only passed with an addendum proposed by Mr. Asquith that it will be reconsidered along with the whole question of the fiscal relationship of the various parts of the Empire to one another and the rest of the world. Mr. Bonar Law, in supporting the duties, used the ominous words, "What had been done did not settle the principle for which they had fought so long; it obviously could not settle it, because no political party here was satisfied with the arrangement." It was obvious, therefore, that it was not the final arrangement. To add to our misgivings, a recent cablegram reports a unanimous recommendation of the Imperial War Conference in favour of a system of Imperial Preference. This would mean, if anything, that India's fiscal freedom would be greatly crippled and that she could not fully protect her cotton industry against the ruinous competition of Lancashire and that she might be compelled to sell her produce to England for prices lower than those that she might command outside the Empire. Some years before, when the same question was raised under the name of preferential tariffs, the Government of Lord Curzon proved almost incontestably that India would be placed at a heavy disadvantage under such a system. It is difficult to dogmatise without a full discussion of details, and it is on the whole wise to suspend judgment till we learn the precise character of the proposals. It is the more necessary to suspend judgment because in one of his speeches Sir S. P. Sinha pleaded for fiscal autonomy on behalf of India and deprecated the sacrifice of our economic interests to those of any industry or section either in Great Britain or elsewhere. And Mr. Chamberlain seemed generally to endorse the contention. Imperial Preference *prima facie* infringes the principle of fiscal autonomy or at any rate impairs its integrity. But till we know everything it is not necessary to be alarmed, as there might be ways in which, while some discrimination was made in favour of other parts of the Empire, India was still able to find means of adequately protecting both her commercial interests and her young industries.

The debate on the subject in Parliament has many features of interest. The Secretary of State indulged in a personal reminiscence which reflected great honour on his moral courage and sense of justice. The champions of Lancashire did not shrink from the glaring inconsistency of the arguments that they advanced. Their concern for the interests of the poor consumer in India and the sweated factory operative in Bombay was shown up as not altogether altruistic, and Lord Curzon made the striking remark that for forty years Lancashire had been the powerful and almost menacing figure in the background of Indian and Indian affairs. Besides, the unexpected strength of the Opposition elicited the best efforts of the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister, who felt called upon to defend their action with a degree of warmth and breadth of view not always evoked by debates on Indian subjects. The most powerful arguments were based on the necessity of redressing a long-standing grievance and respecting the unanimous sentiment of the Indian people. Such emphasis was placed on these arguments that the Irish Nationalists desisted their application to the question of Home Rule in Ireland and in India.

A TARDY ACT OF JUSTICE TO INDIA.

Lord Curzon said: "It was always the interests of Lancashire which had prevailed against the interests and sentiments of India. Was it surprising in these circumstances that India should regard this an ancient wrong for the redress of which she had always looked to the consideration and justice of her British rulers? He asked their Lordships to look at the matter from the larger, not the smaller, standpoint. This was not a question of Free Trade or Protection, but a question of Lancashire against Bombay. It was not merely a fiscal or economic question. The idea deeply in his mind was that it was a tardy act of justice to India—a sincere reparation to what he regarded as a wrong done. Mr. Chamberlain: When Lord Curzon contended that the Government, when they sanctioned the imposition of the increased cotton duty, are bound to raise the Excise at the same time, I tell them with all solemnity and gravity that they are asking for that which neither this Government nor any Government will do. For you would so affront Indian opinion, and your action would be so bitterly and deeply resented that you would not carry with you that general consent of the people, which is necessary to you under any form of Government." (Mr. Dillon: except in Ireland and not less necessary when you are dealing with Government so circumstanced as is the British Government in India. I would like the House to be under no misapprehension as to the widespread character or gravity of the feeling in India on this matter. I can quote passage after passage from, I think, every Indian member of the Legislative Council. In this matter the course we have hitherto pursued and from which the change relieves us sets us right with Indian opinion. I am told that I am breaking the truth which has lasted for 20 years. That is not the Indian opinion. All that time it has been an open and a manifest sore. (An Hon. Member: So has Ireland.) It has been a ready weapon to every ill-wisher of our rule; it has been

the theme of every seditious writer; and it rankles as an injustice and an indignity in the mind of every loyal Indian who cares about these things. (An Hon. Member: A good Home Rule speech....) "I appeal to him (Mr. Asquith), acting in the spirit of great imperial patriotism, to cast his vote with the whole weight of his influence into the redress of a grievance which rankles in India now, which separates Indian sentiment from our sentiment, which leaves our Government, rightly or wrongly, under the aspersions that where some English section or influence clashes with the interests and aspirations of the people of India, we are ready to sacrifice India to save our electoral fortunes."

Mr. Lloyd George: "The first consideration is the interest of the hundreds of millions of people in India for whom we are the guardians and the trustees. (Hear, hear.) By every canon of justice, fair dealing and liberty, their interest ought to be paramount when you come to consider any fiscal matter directly affecting them. Is there any doubt in the mind of anyone who knows anything about the opinion of the people of India of what they think about these proposals? Without exception all classes, creeds, races, and nationalities have accepted them as a measure of justice. If there were such a thing as a plebiscite possible of the whole of the people of India I have absolutely no doubt how their votes would go upon this question. At this moment we thought as a matter of policy, as a war measure, it was desirable that this great act of justice should be extended to India. And what has been the result? There has been no doubt about it, that it has sent a thrill of enthusiasm right through that great Empire. (Cheers.) I have no doubt we shall reap in abundance the harvest of this piece of justice and fair play and equity, which we have extended to the population of India. That is why we choose this particular moment. Here is a grievance which the whole population of India has been feeling, and feeling acutely. My Right Hon. friend in the course of his speech stated very fairly that the first consideration to be given when weighing the equities of this case must be the interests of the population of India. I should not have thought there was any doubt about that at all. The first consideration is the interests of the hundreds of millions of people in India for whom we are the guardians and the trustees. By every canon of justice, fair dealing and liberty, their interests ought to be paramount when you come to consider any fiscal matter directly affecting them."

LOCAL BODIES TO BE WHOLLY ELECTIVE.

A reform in administration for which the time has decidedly come is to make our local bodies, i.e., municipalities, district boards and taluk boards, and where they exist, village committees or panchayats, wholly elective. I know officials think that we generally pay undue attention to the constitution of all bodies, whether they be legislative councils, bodies for local self-government, university senates or special organizations. We do not take, it is said, sufficient interest in the functions and actual work of these bodies. It does not strike us that an indifferent constitution with little or no election may often produce very good results on account of the personnel, while an ideal constitution in the hands of unscrupulous persons may lead to inefficiency and even corruption. That is so; but it by no means follows that the pains taken in framing a constitution are always thrown away. A despot acting singly is often the centre of a wholesome and elevating influence and may confer much good on those who look up to him. Still experience has taught mankind to cultivate a decided preference for republican or democratic forms of government. In mixed organizations of which the personnel cannot always be chosen for character or efficiency, it is necessary to distribute power and responsibility so that the failure of one part need not bring about the ruin of the whole, or the spirit of faction or wanton mischief render peaceful and continued work impossible. The practice of Government in this country teaches the lesson of circumspection in devising suitable constitutions for organizations which have the power of seriously influencing the welfare of the community. Government is custodian of vast interests, especially in a country like India, and has always been slow to direct itself of responsibilities, even though the law might not cast these on it. The theory of government, multifunctional in western countries, has enormously widened their scope, and socialistic principles acting on democratic forms have reconciled people to the interference of Government to every department of national life. But this interference and watchfulness on the part of Government may be exerted in various ways, some of which are open to serious objection. Broadly speaking, these ways fall into two classes—external and internal. External interference is an attribute of sovereignty, and where Government shrinks from exercising it when required the condition of affairs is bound to become anarchical. Internal interference is a more intricate and thorny problem. To put the matter roughly, the greater the self-reliance and public spirit and organizing power of the subjects, the less should be the internal interference of Government in organizations for which it is not primarily responsible. Where these qualities have been fairly developed Government stands to gain in popularity and efficiency in proportion as it withdraws its hand from the ordinary life of the community. It was therefore in the things that it was in the universities, and in bodies charged with the duties of local government, the central power started by providing for a certain measure of internal control. We owe it perhaps to this precaution that our municipal and rural boards, whatever their shortcomings, have been saved from falling into such depths of inefficiency and corruption as we read of in the case of English local bodies in the middle of the nineteenth century. From time to time, however, the constitution of these bodies must be revised so that they may be freed more and more from inside control. As in other matters, our Government has shown no alacrity in relaxing its paternal attitude towards them, and the

result to-day is a great deal of dissatisfaction among those who are interested in the growth of local self-government, and are anxious that through it the people should be taught, in an ever-increasing degree, the art of managing their own affairs.

INTERNAL CONTROL BY GOVERNMENT.

Internal control is now exerted by Government in two separate ways, first by nominating a certain proportion of the members of these corporations, and secondly, by choosing a man who should preside over their deliberations and bear responsibility for their executive work. The members so appointed and the presidents or executive officers are in some cases officials and in other cases non-officials. From the standpoint of the advanced politician this does not make much difference. With a few exceptions non-officials take their cue from their official colleagues—and for purposes of measuring the relative strength of parties we may class the official and non-official nominees together. And it would not be doing violence to the actual facts if in this discussion which has the political education of the people mainly in view, our classification of members recognizes only the elected and the nominated sections. The nominated non-official is not, however, such an anomaly as the elected official. To this day in certain provinces of India the presidents of local bodies, although chosen by election, are, with rare exceptions, the principal executive officers in the localities. Election which yields such results is a mockery, and as the report of the Decentralization Commission mildly puts it, it would be wiser when Government directly, in Madras till recently we used to hear a great deal of the evils attendant on the candidature of officials at popular elections. Attempts were made frequently in the legislative council to induce Government to disqualify officials for such candidature. These attempts have only been partially successful. Government have imposed certain restrictions on the candidature, but have not prohibited it. I understand that a similar state of things exists in this presidency. This, however, is a matter totally connected with the purity of elections, the independence of the voter and therefore the growth of manly citizenship among the people. The practice of official candidature, once recognized as open to censure, must be definitely abandoned and the law amended accordingly. It is a pity that Government should exhibit any reluctance to carry out this principle in its integrity. Let us hope it will not be long before our system of local self-government is purged of this mischievous excrescence.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENTS HESITATION AND DISTRICT.

Having mentioned the Governments of Madras and Bombay together in the above connection, I must hasten to say that they do not appear in other matters relating to local government to stand on the same level. Somehow or other it is the misfortune of the Bombay Presidency, as progressive and enlightened as any in the country, to labour under the disadvantage that from the time Sir James Fergusson adopted an obstructive attitude when Lord Ripon initiated his beneficent policy of 1882, the Government of Bombay have been unable to shake off altogether their excessive hesitation and distrust in the treatment of municipalities and district and local boards. For reasons which an outsider cannot understand and which most of you here do not perhaps understand any more than I, the elective principle is not advanced in Bombay to the same extent as in Bengal or Madras and, stranger still, in some of the other provinces, generally called backward. In fact the extraordinary thing in local self-government in our country, which Government will do well to ponder, is that in some ways it is the backward provinces like Assam and the Central Provinces where the local bodies show the greatest constitutional advance. Will Government say, "Where the people are backward, it does not matter how advanced the constitution is; it is where the people are advanced that the greatest caution and hesitancy are required?" I do not suppose that this would be the line of reasoning adopted by Government, for it would be in manifest opposition to the reasoning they adopt in the case of larger political matters where the backwardness of the people is urged as the sole excuse for slow advance. The fact is that your Government, more than other Governments in India, are labouring under the traditional notions engendered in the days when the system was first tried and fail to realise that very large steps in advance may be taken with perfect safety to all the interests involved. The only thing requisite is the firm resolve not to be hurried into measures of interference by the sight of avoidable inefficiency of neglect or the welfare of ratepayers.

After all the ratepayers, who are primarily interested in the maintenance of a proper tone in local self-government, will never learn to exercise control over their representatives till they are convinced that Government will not look after them except in cases of extremity. Nor will the fullest sense of responsibility be evoked in the members of these bodies so long as the Government shows a readiness to save them from the consequences of their mistakes or misdeeds. In so far as the local bodies have powers of raising local taxation and regulating its incidence on individual cases, it is necessary not only to let the voice of the ratepayers be heard through their representatives, but to make them realise fully that the rates and taxes, both direct and indirect, are imposed on them by their own representatives and spent on their own welfare by executives appointed and controlled by those very representatives. The maxim of popular government, which is the very key-stone of the British constitution, viz., no taxation without representation, and extended by the silent implication of law to colonies occupied by British subjects, has not been extended to India. But its full extension is only a question of time. People may be allowed to understand the principle and benefit by it as a beginning in the smaller sphere of local self-government.

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BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

(Continued from page 6.)
ment. There is obvious advantage in Government, which is already compelled to assume direct responsibility for large Imperial taxation and much Provincial taxation which is indirect, freeing itself completely from responsibility for local taxation. At present the official representatives in these bodies have the power like other members of initiating and promoting taxation proposals and taking a share in the actual administration of local finance. And it is well known that the official element in these bodies, except in large centres of education, exercises an influence far in excess of its numerical strength and in several cases is all-powerful.

CONCERN OF THE RATEPAYERS.
In Great Britain, the continent of Europe and America the central governments have not found it necessary, for appointing local bodies up to their duties, to keep any proportion of their members; whether in towns or rural areas, these local authorities are wholly elected. In fact it is not too much to say that a proposal to make nominations would be keenly resented. The principle is that the administration of local government is a concern of the ratepayers, and only they and no others have the right to choose the men who conduct that administration.

Experience too confirms the *a priori* argument that nominee officials cannot take the same interest in local affairs that representatives of the ratepayers, who are themselves ratepayers will take. In nearly every province the attendance of officials at meetings of the local bodies compares unfavourably with that of the elected members, and I have personally known many conscientious officials who have told me that their work as members of local bodies was a burdensome addition to their official duty, while not being of much use to the ratepayers. They are birds of passage, so to say, and seldom identify themselves with local interests. Some of them are apt to dominate, and when they interest themselves deeply in local politics, acquire an influence which, apart from its being good or bad, must hinder the growth of the civic spirit in their brethren. On occasions when a local question becomes so important as to attract the attention of the superior officials of the district, the official member is naturally susceptible to influence from headquarters, and his vote may be cast neither in accordance with his personal inclinations nor in furtherance of local needs.

It is said that the presence of officials adds to the business capacity of the boards and helps to secure thoroughness and despatch. There is something in this claim, but not enough to outweigh the violation of principle and the other drawbacks described above. Besides, the claim is less true now than it might have been several years ago. Even in small towns it is possible to find a number of non-officials of sufficient enlightenment and business habits to enable local bodies to dispense with official assistance.

Another ground on which Government nomination to these bodies is defended is the existence of local factions, between whom officials, being in a sense outsiders, are in a position to act as arbitrators. This, however, is scarcely the case in actual experience. A non-official as often as an official can be found with detachment enough to serve this blessed function of the peacemaker. Nor are officials specially immune from the factional spirit, and it has occasionally happened within my knowledge that the officials of a place have formed a group with a more or less defined antipathy to non-officials.

DEFENCE OF APPOINTMENT OF OFFICIAL PRESIDENTS.

In defence of the appointment of official presidents, chairmen or executive officers, it is urged, in the first place that as they have to move about in the district they have superior knowledge of local needs and better facilities than non-officials for local inspection. This contention has some force and is entitled to weight in the case of the district boards, but not in the case of taluka boards or municipalities. But even in the former case it is well to risk some inefficiency and make a beginning in the direction of rescuing boards from the condition into which they have fallen—of being large but somewhat neglected departments of Collectors' offices. Retired officials and educated landlords are becoming more and more available for non-official public life, and perhaps the number of districts is small in which suitable persons may not be found at the headquarters stations both willing and competent to undertake the duties of presidents of district boards.

The fact of the matter is that there is a feeling prevalent among the higher officials of Government, not altogether blame-

worthy, that in the last resort they are answerable for the proper conduct of municipal and rural board business. It is no wonder that the simplest way of discharging this responsibility appears to them to be also the best, namely, appointing an official whom they can control and trust to "carry on." This accounts for the large number of officials engaged in the executive work of local government, whether as chairmen, secretaries, or chief officers. This well-meaning theory, however, is obsolete, and the members of Government must shake themselves free from the compunction that they apparently feel in devolving the responsibility for local interests on local authorities. The burden must one day settle on the right shoulders.

Occasionally the preference shown by Government for official presidents leads to quite extraordinary results. I have known the sub-divisional officer of a district who, in addition to his regular duties, presided over a taluka board and at least two municipalities besides. Was he to blame if the meetings of these bodies had to be arranged between the arrival of a train at each place and the departure of the return train, and he had not much time for the discussion of the subjects on the agenda paper of making himself acquainted with the ratepayers? Administration in general will be none the worse if Government had a little less faith in the unlimited capacity of their officials and a little more faith in the capacity of non-officials.

The case for this reform derives its greatest strength from the necessity of training the people of the country to a full measure of self-government in local affairs as a preparation for self-government in national affairs. It is true our local bodies are even in their present condition passable schools of political education; but they will not yield the best lessons of which they are capable until they are made autonomous units. The testimony of history is not uniform in this respect. Canada had no municipal institutions when it was called upon to assume responsible government, and some nations which enjoyed great national prosperity and glory have shown great ineptitude in the management of local affairs. In India, however, the "step by step" argument is understood in a very literal and sometimes, one might say, in an arithmetical sense. Those who advance it in season and out of season, having it in their power to afford this valuable, though not altogether indispensable, training must lose no time in placing it within the reach of the communities committed to their care.

It must, however, be recognized that the withdrawal of inside control will necessitate the tightening of outside control from the centre. The powers that Government has under the present law of the different provinces for exercising control are ample; but, if need be, there is no theoretical objection to their being made more stringent. The unsatisfactory condition of American municipalities is justly attributed to the lack of vigorous supervision of the centre, and we know as a matter of history that local government in England which in 1835 was reported upon in very unfavourable terms entered on a career of efficiency and usefulness only after Parliamentary control was firmly established and the central government was given powers to inspect, advise and aid the local bodies. Mr. Sidney Webb says:—"A century of experience has demonstrated that it is undesirable for Local Authorities to be subject to no administrative control whatsoever from a Central Authority, for them to be left without independent inspection or audit, without access to centralized experience and specialist knowledge, without any enforcement of the minimum indispensably required for the commonweal, and without mitigation of the stupendous inequality of local rates that complete autonomy involves."

THE PUBLIC SERVICES QUESTION.

The intense disapprobation with which the report of the Public Services Commission has been received by the Indian public throws into strong relief the extraordinary stimulus which the war has given to the ambition and the expectation of our people. There can be no doubt that, if the report could have appeared before August 1914, it would not have provoked a storm of indignation as it has done; conceivably it might even have caused mild pleasure in the breasts of some critics. There are some things in it which mark a clear advance on the existing position. For one thing there is a distinct recognition that certain services might be wholly Indian and that their salaries might be fixed on an Indian scale. Among these are the scientific services of which the higher grades are recruited in England, because men of the requisite knowledge and training are not available here. To obviate this difficulty the Commission make the sound suggestion that the technical colleges of engineering, agriculture, forest-

try, etc. should be raised to such a high level of efficiency as to turn out the men required for filling the highest posts in the departments concerned, and the Hon. Mr. Chaudhary places just emphasis on the recommendation and says that it should be carried out by the Government before other items involving expenditure are taken up. A further recommendation of this branch of the subject is that half the vacancies every year should be announced as open to successful students in Indian colleges. Some advance is recommended in all the services, though it is not the same throughout. In none is it satisfactory; in some, especially the civil, police and medical services it is most disappointing. During the inquiry we heard a lot about the unsuitability of Indians for higher administrative posts, and in the case of the Indian Civil Service much was made of the necessity of maintaining the British spirit of administration. Whether because the Commission do not believe in these things or because they desire to avoid bad blood, they barely refer to such racial comparisons in this report. But they do not get full credit for this forbearance. To justify the limitations they still wish to maintain on the employment of non-Europeans, they advance the proposition that in the civil and police services it is necessary for political reasons, that is, for the preservation of British interests that the British element must have a decided preponderance. This exclusion of Indians by reason of their race only from the great bulk of the higher positions of trust and responsibility is certainly hard to reconcile with the absolute equality repeatedly promised to the people of the country in respect of any position the duties of which they are fitted faithfully and efficiently to discharge. The Commissioners have no partiality for competitive examinations and it is with some effort that they make up their mind to retain them wherever they are used now for recruitment. Nomination is not to be haphazard as hitherto; a suitable educational qualification, which need not be the same for all communities alike, is to be required of all nominees, and for selecting the men to be nominated committees are to be set up on which Indians and non-officials should have some representation. Increases of salary and pension, better terms of leave, higher rates of allowances of all kinds are proposed almost throughout. Some reasons are given for these recommendations, but neither the general poverty of the country, nor the financial straits to which it has been reduced seem to have been kept in mind by the Commissioners. The question of separating executive and judicial functions has not been considered on the ground that the terms of reference seem to exclude it.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS REFUSED.

Simultaneous examinations, on which two generations of Indians have set their hearts as the barest measure of justice to them in the matter of the premier service, have once more been refused. The age limits for those who compete in England have been lowered from 22-24, which is the present age, to 17-19, though it is admitted that this will have the effect of nearly closing the English door to Indian candidates. The principal feature of the report is the institution of a separate examination in India adapted to the teaching in Indian universities for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service of seven officers every year. The examination will not be open as in England, but each university is to nominate twenty candidates, thus giving in all about a hundred competitors. Besides these seven there will be two more recruits every year nominated by the Secretary of State on the advice of the Government of India and called the King-Emperor's cadets. All nine candidates are to be sent to England to be trained during a period of three years along with the successful English candidates at the London examination of the same year. The courses of study and the examinations are common to all during the period of training, and it is according to the marks obtained at these examinations that the candidates are to be finally ranked. The figure 9 for recruitment in India has been arrived at in this way. To safeguard British interests it is considered that three-fourths of the superior appointments in the Indian Civil Service should be filled by Englishmen. The number of such posts is 755. Indians may thus be appointed to one-fourth of this number, i.e. to 189 posts. Forty of these will be given in the judicial line to members of the bar; forty-one to selected officers of the provincial civil service, in lieu of the present listed posts; to get the remaining 108 officers, according to the usual calculations for inferior posts, leave reserve, and training reserve there should be added 102 posts. The annual recruitment for these 210 posts, according to the decremental rate of 4.17, comes to nine. The police department is guarded with even greater jealousy

from the admixture of Indians. Only 10 per cent. are to be allowed into the imperial ranks, but this percentage may be eventually increased to twenty, as favourable occasion should arise. The education service should be divided into class I and class II. In class I should be included all the members of the present Indian educational service and a number amounting to one-third of them taken from the provincial educational service, so that roughly one-fourth of the higher educational posts will be created in the future, as far as given to an Indian. Class II should be recruited in India; and from it promotion may be made to class I, though the Commission feel they cannot fix the exact proportion. Besides the officers of class I and class II, there is to be a body of superior educationalists, the number of, say, twenty, who should be freed from the obligation to lecture to B.A. candidates, but should be devoted to research and the training of students who are to be appointed solely by reason of their eminence in learning and without any reference to race, but whether they are to remain together with their research pupils in a central institution created for the purpose or whether they are to be dispersed amongst the several colleges, whether they are to be Government officers or University professors or professors in the individual colleges, which are to be encouraged to appoint them by liberal salary grants, are questions which the Commission have left to the Government to decide, in the light of notes submitted by individual members.

POLITICAL NECESSITY A EUPHEMISM.

This brief and inadequate summary is all that I can find room for in my address, and I must now hasten to indicate a few points of general importance which claim attention. One fact necessary for us all to know beyond doubt has emerged clearly from the labours of this Commission. It is not altogether a revelation, for most people had realized that it lay behind all the discussions as to fitness, efficiency and other superficialities. The Commissioners have advanced in its nakedness the real reason for continuing practically unimpaired the British monopoly of the higher grades of the services. Political necessity is only a euphemism for the rooted desire to secure to Britishers the civil power and a great bulk of the leaves and fishes of office. The free and open competition and the absolute equality of all British subjects and the extinction of the governing caste in India, which some amiable people on both sides of the controversy have always believed, are now definitely shattered. For the future every revision of the services question will be a frank unredressed struggle between Europeans on the one hand and statutory Indians on the other. If this is to be the true development, there is no time to time the necessity of fixing from different services to the proportion of posts in the parties. It is impossible to ignore the bearing of this question on the struggle for political autonomy which the National Congress and the Muslim League have resolved to bring to a definite issue. Clause 5 of the scheme of post-war reforms under the heading "The Government of India" runs:—"The power of making all appointments in the Imperial civil services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to the existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council." In the first place, this would eliminate the Secretary of State from all part of this matter of Indian services and transfer the Government of India to the Government of India. He would be subject in this behalf to the Indian Legislative Council, the progressive political party in India must look forward to the Indianising of all the services, at least in the eye of the law, as an early consummation. Vested interests would of course have to be scrupulously and generously safeguarded, and expert knowledge and assistance should be obtained to the fullest extent necessary on any terms and from any quarter of the world.

SELF-GOVERNING STATUS.

The self-governing status has carried with it in the case of each Dominion that power to confine recruitment for all its services within its own borders. I do not wish by any words of mine to embitter a dispute which, dealing with power and prestige, posts and emoluments, is apt in itself to rouse ill-feeling. But it strikes me that, if we are to be true to the self-government programme that we have put forward, it is necessary to combat with all our might the doctrine that there should be a preponderance of the British element in the Civil and Police Services. This doctrine is based unmistakably on suspicion and distrust. The paramountcy of Great Britain would be simply secured by the continuance of all military and foreign affairs in the hands of the Viceroy-in-Council, without interference from the legislature; and on the face of it, it appears needless to secure it further by any guaranteed preponderance in the main service. We still hold therefore to our demand of a simultaneous examination for the Civil Service, a common list, no racial proportion, and equal opportunities of advancement for all. Should, however, the Commission's proposal of a separate examination in India for recruitment of a certain proportion be allowed to prevail, I would suggest that the division of the service be half and half. In making this suggestion I wish to be understood not to mean any discourtesy to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, whose able and courageous minute of dissent it is impossible to praise adequately. But I cannot resist the feeling that in proposing one-third as the Indian proportion in the Civil Service (*minus* the judicial branch) he appears to concede the claim to preponderance of the British element, which is clearly opposed to Royal and Parliamentary declarations. Secondly, we must object as strongly as we can to all the proposals of the Commission which involve, directly or indirectly, an addition to the salaries, allowances and other emolu-

ments of the services. On this point, I know I shall incur the displeasure of my own countrymen employed in the service of Government. But it is impossible to forget the two sovereign considerations: India is an extremely poor and undeveloped country, and the salaries of the higher grades of our services are already pitched too high. Thirdly, we must seek to extend the sphere of competitive examinations, tempered by nominations, to safeguard the interests of certain communities, as the means of selecting candidates for public employment. Fourthly, the judicial service must be made independent, recruited exclusively from the bar and placed in all respects under the control of the High Courts in the provinces. The separation of executive and judicial functions is so important that we are not likely to lose sight of it.

WAR LOAN.

I feel it my duty to commend to the Conference with all earnestness the claim of the Indian War Loan on all individuals and public bodies who have money to spare. We have to remember that, although the revenues of India are pledged to meeting the interest charges and sinking fund on our war gift of a 100 million £, this will go only towards easing the burden of the United Kingdom in future years. It is only that portion of the gift which is raised as the Indian War Loan which helps immediately in the prosecution of the war.

THE DEFENCE FORCE.

I also implore you all to spare no efforts in making the Indian Defence Force a signal success. Disabilities and grievances there are. When shall we be without them? The only thing is we must not cease to struggle against them. We stand to lose heavily all round morally and politically if we let this opportunity pass. Let young men realise that the cause of India which they yearn passionately to serve requires before all things that they should acquire regular military training and that they should eagerly embrace the first opportunity, however small and restricted, of getting it. Failure in this would be a terrible blow to the national movement and we should regret it all our lives. Besides, if there be any reality in our appreciation of the tremendous issues involved in the war and the enormous drain that it causes on the man-power of Britain, we must respond readily to the slight demand made on the educated classes by the Government and mark our sense of the departure in the policy of mistrust hitherto followed in military matters.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

On the great and absorbing topic of education I do not know how to be brief. But this I will say that I welcome with the liveliest pleasure the announcement made the other day by Sir Michael O'Dwyer that his Government would entertain proposals coming from municipalities and local boards for making elementary education compulsory, provided they had the support of public opinion and were willing to bear the responsibility of working the compulsory system. I fervently trust that the announcement was made with the sanction of the Government of India, whose attitude of *non possumus* has hitherto discouraged other Governments from lending any countenance to the attempts made by our representatives in local legislatures in this direction. In this presidency the popular movement sustained a repulse from the Government a few months ago. But the glad news from the Punjab will put heart into the champions of popular education, and I feel sure that my redoubtable friend, the Hon. Mr. Patel, will renew his attack, and I should not wonder if the Government of Bombay made terms with him with a view to eventual surrender. I trust that H. E. Lord Willingdon will leave behind him a memorial in the form of a small Act in favour of compulsory attendance of children of this presidency before he leaves office next year. It is possible, however, that I am rejoicing too soon and I would, therefore, appeal to the leaders and local bodies of this presidency not to relax efforts in the least.

TWO LOCAL QUESTIONS.

Of the many topics of local interest which will find place on our programme I have been advised to refer to two and propose to offer a few remarks on them. The grouping of the Konkani districts of Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Thana with the Southern and Northern Divisions is a grievance of very long standing. This arrangement has operated to the very serious disadvantage of the districts concerned in the matter of representation on the local Legislative Council. The late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, who represented the Southern Division, urged long ago upon the attention of Government the necessity of either creating a new division for these districts or of joining them on to the Central Division. The people in Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Thana districts speak Marathi, the language of the Central Division, and they have nothing in common with the Southern or the Northern Division, where Canarese and Gujarati are spoken. Geographically, too, the districts should belong to the Central and not to the Southern or the Northern Division. It may be urged that, as we are now demanding substantial representation for each district on the Council, the question of giving separate and independent representation to these districts is rather out of date. But it is unfair that, in the interval that will elapse before the larger question will be settled, the people of these districts should go without any real representation; and the grievance can be redressed by an executive order without having recourse to legislation on the matter. In regard to general administration too the arrangement at present in force has entailed serious inconvenience. People from Kolaba and Thana would much prefer having the headquarters of the highest revenue officer at Poona to having it either at distant Belgaum or Ahmedabad. If the posts of divisional Commissioners are abolished and the district is brought into direct and living contact with the central Government of the province, this grievance will disappear. But I think it is fair to ask that the Government should give prac-

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ON THE 19th MAY 1917.

IF

The Shielding Shadow

BY RANDALL PARRISH

Novelized From the Motion Picture Play of the Same Name.

Released by the Pathe Exchange.

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CAST OF CHARACTERS.

LEONTINE WALCOTT, in love with Jerry and sought in marriage by Sebastian.

JERRY CARSON, American novelist in love with Leontine, who goes on a quest for the buried treasure of Morgan, the buccaner.

SEBASTIAN NAVARRO, a wealthy Argentine, whose suit for Leontine's hand is favoured by her father.

JOHN WALCOTT, father of Leontine.

DIEGO NAVARRO, brother of Sebastian.

ONE LAMP LOUIS, otherwise Louis Lamb, crook and forger.

FIFTH EPISODE.

CHAPTER 1.

"Red" Finn had almost forgotten the fact that nature had assigned him many parts to play. He was so good an actor that he identified himself with every part completely. For five years he had been "Red" Finn, the name of a man he killed in a Montana gambling house. He spoke like a Western desperado, his words and actions were seldom upon nodding acquaintance with each other, and he forgot all about his other roles.

When he emerged, dripping and shaken from the river, clutching the stolen confession in his hand, he made his way hastily to his shack. He found it unharmed after the earthquake, changed his clothes, ate a meal, and hurried toward the nearest station.

In the train he shook off "Red" Finn entirely. "Red" had outplayed his part. He became Ludwig Romanoff, a role he had filled in Germany, with great success, six years before. His nouns and verbs made up; and as the rough desperado became a sleek, polished crook, the very expression of the man ceased to change.

Arriving in the East, he quickly found his level among the denizens of the underworld. He soon came to realize that Louis Lamb had offered Ravenger ten thousand dollars, must still be worth at least that sum.

Sebastian, having returned with Leontine from White's Village, had resumed his old life with all the burden of his latest experiences added to it. He knew now that detection of his part in the conspiracy against Jerry Carson was imminent. He knew that Louis and Ravenger were leagued together to hunt him down. He guessed that Leontine suspected. And he did not know what to do.

It was while he was in this uncertainty that Ludwig Romanoff called with Louis' confession in his pocket.

Sebastian, who did not know that the confession had been stolen from Ravenger, started nervously, nevertheless, when the strange name was announced. He had been breakfasting with Leontine. She saw him start and looked after him in wonder as he left the room and went into his library.

Overcome with curiosity, Leontine went into the hall. The library door was not quite closed, and the two men were standing in such a position that Leontine could see them reflected in the mirror that hung in the hall. She saw Sebastian looking nervously at his visitor, and in the visitor she recognized, to her surprise, the man who had stolen the confession from Ravenger.

Unable to stir, she could not but hear the ensuing conversation: "Mr. Navarro, your name is mentioned in a certain confession," said Romanoff. "I have it here." He drew it from his pocket and held it in his hand.

"I know all about that," answered Sebastian, swallowing hard. "A man in my position is naturally the victim of conspirators and blackmailers. If you have come here to blackmail me, you have mistaken your man. However, my time is valuable, and rather than waste it in having you arrested, I am willing to pay you a hundred dollars for that confession."

Leontine did not see the mocking look on Romanoff's face. She burst into the room.

"And I will pay you a thousand!" she cried.

Sebastian flushed and moved threateningly toward her. "With my money?" he sneered.

"A thousand dollars," cried Leontine again.

Romanoff smiled. "It seems to be going up in value. I think I'll keep it," he announced, pocketing the paper.

He was nearing the door when, with an oath, Sebastian whipped out a revolver from the desk beside him and leveled it.

"You'll find that over or you'll never leave this room alive!" he shouted.

Romanoff, taken back, could only stare into the muzzle of the weapon. He saw that Sebastian was desperate. He read imminent death in the glowering face thrust out toward his own. And Romanoff knew when the game was up.

He put his hand into his pocket and drew out the confession. A look of triumph came over Sebastian's features. Romanoff watched him carefully. At the least sign of wavering, at the least trembling of the hand that held the revolver, he was ready to spring.

Suddenly the revolver was dashed from Sebastian's hand. Sebastian went reeling back across the room, as if he had received a stunning blow in the face. Yet there was nobody in the room except himself, Leontine, and Romanoff.

Next instant, as Sebastian recovered himself, he was picked up and hurled to

the ground. He lay there as if stunned.

And Leontine, gazing in terror at her husband, saw, at a height of nearly six feet from the ground, a pair of eyes fixed on the prostrate man. It was the mysterious defender who had championed her, who seemed to be ever-present, ready to come to her aid when danger threatened.

Romanoff, with an exclamation of terror, turned and bolted from the room. He hurried into the street and leaned against the wall of the house, trembling.

He held the precious paper in his hand. He tried to replace it in his pocket, but his hands shook so that he could hardly tighten his fingers upon it. At last he succeeded in raising the right hand to the edge of the pocket.

Suddenly his hand dropped as if the wrist were broken. The invisible antagonist was upon him, and Romanoff fought in his grasp, feeling a sensation of power as he fought.

It was a weird struggle in the sunny street. A policeman, across the road, looked on in amazement at a man reproducing all the features of a battle for life alone.

CHAPTER 2.

Romanoff seemed to be fighting the air. He writhed and squirmed, he grappled with the invisible enemy, and clenched the crumpled paper under the pressure that sought to open his hand.

At last, leaping back, Romanoff managed to wrench his arm free and delivered a blow with all his strength at the invisible antagonist.

It was efficacious, for all at once Romanoff felt that he was free. He thrust the paper into his pocket, and just then the policeman came hurrying up.

"What's the matter with you?" he demanded; and then, noticing Romanoff's appearance of being a gentleman, "Are you ill, sir?"

"Something invisible came up and attacked me," muttered Romanoff.

"See here! You beat it home and sleep it off!" remarked the policeman casually.

Romanoff hurried away, glancing back furtively in the fear that the invisible presence was pursuing him. But whoever or whatever this assailant might be, it was evident that he had enough of the fray.

Romanoff meant to place the confession in safe-keeping. He guessed, too, that it was of even greater importance than he had imagined.

Once aboard a street car, he felt safe from pursuit. He gradually recovered his nerve, until, by the time he reached his destination, he felt ready to laugh at the episode.

Since Romanoff did not believe in the supernatural, this strange encounter left no great impression upon him. He came to the conclusion that he must have been the victim of a severe attack of nerves, and dismissed the affair from his mind. The only regret he felt was that it seemed advisable to carry out his blackmailing scheme in concert with others, who would require a share in the profits. However, Romanoff realized that he had tackled a job that was too big for him alone.

He jumped from the car and made his way to a private residence on the side street near by. The blinds were drawn, and there was nothing to indicate that this was other than a respectable private house whose occupants were away.

As a matter of fact, however, the house was connected with the one adjoining and was one of the most celebrated gambling establishments in the city, paying an enormous monthly toll to the police in return for "protection" to fleece the rich men who spent their evenings there.

The adjacent house was occupied by Bianca, the most notorious woman of the underworld that the city had known.

Of mysterious origin, rich, elegant, beautiful, she had appeared in many guises. She had won enormous sums of money by various means. She had obtained a large settlement from a great financier, and a court had been unable to upset it. She had appeared now as plaintiff in a suit—winning it; now as defendant, and going free. She had a record behind her of broken homes and ruined families. But she had never been quite enmeshed in the net of the law.

Romanoff tapped at the door of the gaming establishment, flung a word to the woolly-headed attendant, and entered through the grilled door. He made his way along a passage and entered the room in which, even at that hour, the gamblers were assembled. Bianca ran the place night and day. It was the boast of the habitués that they could always be certain of a game there.

Romanoff cast a glance about him. The players, intent upon their game, took no notice of him. But Romanoff saw one man whose presence filled him with consternation.

It was Ravenger, unknown to Romanoff by name, but the man with whom he had fought for the confession in White's Vil-

lage, the man to escape whom he had made his desperate leap from the high bridge.

Romanoff stared at him in momentary terror. What was he doing here?

But he quickly recovered his wits. Whether Ravenger recognized him or not, it was clear that he was safe from molestation. Ravenger would not guess that he still had the confession. Ravenger was evidently a man much like himself, and had been drawn to White's Village by the discovery of gold there.

Romanoff felt as if a load had been lifted from his heart. So Ravenger had only been after money! He would not, then, have betrayed him to the police. All Romanoff's fears had been fruitless ones; he could have remained in the West with impunity.

But there was larger game for the hunting right here, in the metropolis.

He stood and watched the players for a few moments, and then made his way quietly from the room. Entering a passage, he pushed back a curtain, disclosing a paneled wall. Romanoff touched a spring and one of the panels slid back, forming a little doorway into an anteroom of the next house. He closed the door behind him and passed on into a larger room, where a woman was seated upon a divan, covered with Persian draperies. Listening to the remarks of two men who were talking to her in low and eager tones.

As Romanoff entered, the men sprang to their feet quickly; then recognizing him they nodded. Bianca smiled at him.

The celebrated "queen of the underworld" was attired in a Paris gown. She exuded an atmosphere of considerable breeding and elegance. Romanoff looked at her in admiration. Bianca's influence was potent over every man who met her.

"You've been away a long time, Mr. Romanoff," she said, smiling at him.

"Yes, but I've been away for good reasons," Romanoff answered. "I've got something in view that's worth considering."

"Sit down and tell me about it," said Bianca.

Romanoff sat down. At that moment he felt completely in his element. Bianca always insisted on good manners in her presence; Romanoff felt that he was moving in high society, that a sort of glamour overhung his presence in her house.

About one minute after Romanoff had left the gambling room, Ravenger rose from the table. He pocketed his winnings with a yawn and strolled into the hall. Pushing back the curtain, he, too, touched the spring, and the panel opened. He entered the anteroom noiselessly and turned to close the panel behind him.

He could hear the low conversation in the next room. As he moved stealthily forward, he became conscious that his coat had caught in the panel.

He turned to free himself. The sliding panel jarred slightly. In an instant one of the men in the next room, alarmed by the sound, appeared in the doorway. Ravenger had just managed to free himself when the man was upon him, grasping him roughly by the arms.

"What are you doing here?" he demanded. Something in Ravenger's look frightened him, for releasing his captive, the man stepped back and drew a revolver from his pocket. Ravenger caught him by the arm. The weapon was discharged, the bullet passing into the ceiling. A chip of plaster fell to the floor.

CHAPTER 3.

At the sound, Romanoff, Bianca, and the third man rushed into the room. They found Ravenger struggling with the "look-out" man.

At Bianca's command the men fell back, leaving Ravenger in possession of the revolver which he had wrested from the other. Bianca and he looked at each other for a moment in silence. Then Bianca smiled.

"Put that away, please," she said quietly. "I don't allow weapons in my house."

Ravenger smiled back at her, but he did not put down his weapon.

"You must put that away," said Bianca again.

There was distinctly a humorous look about Ravenger's mouth, but he did not put down the revolver.

"Come, now," said Bianca coaxingly, stepping back a pace or two in such a way that Ravenger followed her.

A moment afterward she reached behind the portieres and pulled a cord. A trap-door opened under Ravenger's feet, and he slid down a chute.

As he disappeared, the spring door, released of his weight, sprang up again. Bianca looked at the men with her and laughed.

"An interesting fool," she said. "What were you telling me, Mr. Romanoff?"

If she could free herself from the man who was her husband in name alone! That was Leontine's thought as she sat miserably in her room alone.

Sebastian had gone out. He had told her that he was going to the theatre; had, in fact, invited her to accompany him, but in a tone which carried with it the anticipation of her expected refusal. Leontine suspected that Sebastian was over-friendly with other women. His declared love for her did not prevent him from seeking another sort of love wherever it presented itself. If she could be free!

Thoughts of Jerry, dead so long ago, came to her and brought the tears into her eyes. She had always believed her old sweetheart to be innocent. His death in the penal settlement had left her with no hope in life.

Then there unaccountably rose before her, and vividly, the image of Ravenger, the mysterious stranger who so constantly seemed to appear just when she needed him. If there had never been Jerry, but there was Jerry, and dead though he was, she knew that her love for him must endure.

Suddenly she sprang to her feet as a new idea came to her. It brought the flush to her cheeks; it seemed a shameful thing—yet it might mean her freedom from Sebastian. Suppose that she, friendless and helpless as she was, spied on him, obtained the evidence which might justify her in procuring her divorce from him!

No sooner had the idea come to her than

it assumed mastering force. She dressed hurriedly and slipped out of the house.

She took a street car downtown. She must have sat brooding in her room for hours, for it was already late and the crowds were pouring out of the theatres. She reached the one to which her husband had gone just in time to see the first of the audience leave.

Drawing into the doorway of a little shop adjacent, she scanned the crowds keenly. Presently her attention was directed toward a black-haired woman of singularly attractive appearance, who was just getting into her motor. There was something about her that made Leontine watch her every movement. It was not a fine face, but it was a singularly attractive and powerful one, the sort of face, Leontine thought, that would draw many a man to his ruin.

Then, just as the woman had seated herself within her car, Leontine saw Sebastian leave the theatre with a companion. At that moment the woman dropped her fan.

The act was done with a certain deliberation. Of that Leontine was sure. She knew, too, that it had been done to attract Sebastian; she knew all this as only a woman understands the motives of other women.

Sebastian picked it up, bowed, and handed the fan to the woman in the motor. She thanked him with a smile and pressed something into his hand. Leontine saw the flutter of a piece of paper.

The motor drove away, but Sebastian stood reading the note under the light. A moment afterward he bade his companion good-night and hurried away.

Leontine followed him. The chance that she had sought seemed to be at hand. Sebastian called a taxiab and, giving a brief direction to the chauffeur, entered it. Leontine summoned another vehicle.

"Follow that cab," she said.

The driver, who was used to such situations, obeyed with alacrity. Presently he stopped and came running to open the door.

"The car's just gone into that house with the barred windows," he said to her.

"Whose house is it?" asked Leontine.

"Madame Bianca's," said the man, with a grin. "They won't let you in unless they know you, missis. It's the swellest gambling place in town to-day."

Leontine thanked him, and paid him, just in time to see the house's door close upon her husband.

The house had a flight of several steps in front of it. It was one of the typical brownstone houses that were built in the middle of the last century, and had a look of solid respectability about it that belied its nature. Leontine hesitated at the foot of the steps. Her position was a difficult one. It might be that the driver was mistaken, in which case it would be awkward to inquire for Sebastian there. If the driver had spoken the truth, on the other hand, her situation was still more embarrassing.

As she hesitated, the grilled door opened and two men came down the steps. They passed her, staring hard at her. One of them hesitated and then came back to her.

"Anything I can do for you?" he asked, raising his hat, uncertain what sort of woman she was.

"I want to get into that house. It's Madame Bianca's, isn't it?" she asked.

"Why—yes," said the man in hesitation. "Want to try a round or two of baccarat?" he continued.

Leontine nodded. "They don't know me," she said.

"But I guess you are. They wouldn't send a woman detective there. Besides, if Madame Bianca has fallen out with the police, Captain Jackson's a bigger fool than I take him for."

He escorted Leontine up the steps, leaving his companion unceremoniously, just as Sebastian had done outside the theatre. It seemed to Leontine amusing at that moment, how a woman could separate two men by the mere fact of her proximity. At the top of the steps the man tapped and the grille was opened. He spoke a word or two. The negro flung the door wide, and they entered.

He escorted Leontine into the gambling room. It was packed with men and a few women, all absorbed in the various games that were being played. Leontine looked on without understanding. The cards were dealt, the stakes put down like lightning. The monotonous click of a ball racing round a roulette wheel was the only sound that obtruded itself upon her ears.

However, Sebastian was not there. Leontine realized it and turned sick with disappointment.

"Are there any more rooms where they play?" she asked her escort.

He shook his head. "But you can get a good game here," he said, and as a man rose from the table he held the chair for her.

Leontine sat down. Her escort lingered beside her, watching the game. He had guessed that Leontine was a novice, and he did not wish to press her to stake; besides, he had begun to realize that she was there for some purpose which made his immediate conversation distasteful.

Leontine looked at the man who had risen. He was a disolute youth with a pasty complexion, and the air of one who was at the end of his resources.

The haggard stare in his eyes appalled her. She could not take her own from them.

He stopped in his movement toward the door, looked back, seemed about to return, and then, with a swift, incomprehensible gesture, strode through the doorway. An instant later the sound of a revolver shot was heard, followed by the thud of a falling body.

Leontine sprang to her feet in terror. The others followed suit. There was a simultaneous rush to the doorway.

Half hidden by the curtain behind which he had fallen, lay the young man. A revolver was still clutched tightly in his hand, and there was a bullet wound in his temple. His face was twisting in the agony of death.

Peering into the dead man's face was a man whom she seemed to remember. Yes, it is little Louis Lamb, the strange acquaintance that her husband had apparently made in New York, the man she had met in the cabaret, who had disclaimed

any knowledge of her in his new-found pride as millionaire at White's Village.

Louis Lamb looked up into her face, and there was not a particle of recognition in his eyes.

"I guess Madame Bianca won't like this sort of a job going on next door," he said with a grin.

"What do you mean by 'next door'?" asked Leontine.

"Why, through the door behind those curtains," answered Louis. "Say, you're green, ain't you?"

"You must go, you must go at once, madam!" said a negro attendant, pushing through the excited throng. "Kindly leave the house immediately."

Leontine, with two or three other women, was being jostled roughly toward the door. She was in despair, for Louis' words had given her a clue. Suddenly she saw that the curtains had been drawn. The suicide's body was being carried into Madame Bianca's house through the secret entrance.

Instantly she threw up her arms and fell to the floor in a stupefied faint.

Through her half-closed eyes she saw the commotion about her. Two attendants came hastily up to where she lay.

"We'll have to run her in, too," they said. "Say, ain't them women the limit!"

Taking her by the head and feet they pushed their way back to the curtains. Leontine felt herself being carried through the doorway; then she was set down upon a couch.

A glare of lights burst on her closed eyelids. Cautiously she opened them. She saw Sebastian and the woman known as Madame Bianca, with Romanoff, standing about the body of the suicide.

She sprang to her feet and faced them. At the sight of her, Sebastian winced, started, and whitened. Into Romanoff's eyes there came a look of understanding.

Madame Bianca looked at her steadily and inquiringly. And suddenly Leontine realized the purpose of Sebastian's presence there. For there was a paper in the woman's hand—and it was the confession of Louis Lamb.

Sebastian had certainly been attracted by Bianca's appearance in the foyer of the theatre, as she had meant that he should be. But Bianca could attract any man, and Sebastian was perfectly ready to be attracted. Bianca had determined that Sebastian should conclude his bargaining for the confession with her directly.

The note that she had thrust into his hand when he gave her back her fan said simply:

"Follow me if you are interested in obtaining a certain paper."

Sebastian had needed no second invitation, and when he had followed her to the door of her house he had found Bianca waiting for him.

"Won't you come in, Senor Navarre," inquired Bianca, smiling.

In her sumptuously furnished reception room Bianca had coffee served by a Chinese servant. Sebastian lit the cigar that he selected from a box of choice Havanas.

He began to feel quite at ease when Bianca seated herself upon the divan beside him.

"Senor Navarre," she said, "a certain paper has come into my hands in which I believe you are interested. It is a matter of business. How much is it worth to you?"

"I offered a hundred dollars for it this morning," answered Sebastian with an affectation of indifference. "It is, as a matter of fact, of no particular value to me. An old friend has been indiscreet and I want to save him from the consequences of his folly. I might raise my offer to five hundred."

Bianca laughed merrily and tapped his hand playfully with her fan.

"Suppose we say fifty thousand dollars," she said.

Sebastian shrugged his shoulders. "Madame, let us put business aside," he said. "I like to leave these matters to my lawyer."

Bianca's laugh was positively infectious. She knew that the paper was worth to her, in the last resort, a good deal more than that. But, just because Sebastian was immensely wealthy, she wished to be moderate. There are better ways for a beautiful woman to obtain a man's entire fortune than by blackmail.

"Come, senor, let us finish this deal," she said. "Is it fifty thousand? I do not bargain."

He saw that he was dealing with a woman of a stronger character than he had imagined.

"Well, I'll give you ten thousand," he said decisively. "That is positively my last word."

"No," answered Bianca, rising. That was the moment when the pistol shot sent them hurrying into the anteroom. A moment afterward the attendants entered, bearing the body of the suicide.

Sebastian's eyes fell upon Romanoff. At once he realized that Romanoff and Bianca were in the deal together. Somehow he had not deeply resented being blackmailed by this beautiful woman, but now a great bitterness surged through him; jealousy and anger combined to render him incapable of speech.

Then it was that Leontine was carried in and placed on the couch. The combination of circumstances overwhelmed him. He started back in terror as his wife sprang to her feet and stepped forward toward Bianca.

"Give me that paper," said Leontine.

Bianca stepped back and nodded imperceptibly to one of the attendants, who seized Bianca by the arm. And then a strange thing happened.

Suddenly the paper was wrested from Bianca's hand by some invisible agency and transferred to Leontine's. The act was so swift and astounding that before anybody realized what had occurred, Leontine was in possession of it.

Bianca sprang forward to snatch it, but then she staggered and then reeled back; at the same instant the hand of the attendant was torn from Leontine's arm and he was hurled to the floor. A stream of blood poured from his cut lip.

Leontine, clutching the precious docu-

ment, moved toward the door. She was half way toward it when Bianca recovered her self-possession.

"Stop her!" she cried. "Don't let her go! Get that paper from her!"

The second attendant and Romanoff leaped forward. Just as the attendant was about to pinion Leontine he, too, went reeling back under the impact of a terrific blow which knocked him, stunned, to the ground. Romanoff seemed lifted bodily and cast upon the prostrate form of the other man.

The room was in an uproar. Two Chinese servants ran between Leontine and the doorway. The attendants, rising from the floor, at Bianca's signal flung themselves upon Leontine again.

Then it seemed as if an invisible devil were at work in the room. The four men went reeling to and fro in mad confusion. As Sebastian ran forward, a large vase, which had been standing upon a pedestal, picked itself up and struck him upon the forehead, felling him like an ox.

Next a chair, wielded aloft, danced lightly upon the air for a few seconds and then crashed into the group about Leontine, felling two of the attendants and stunning them.

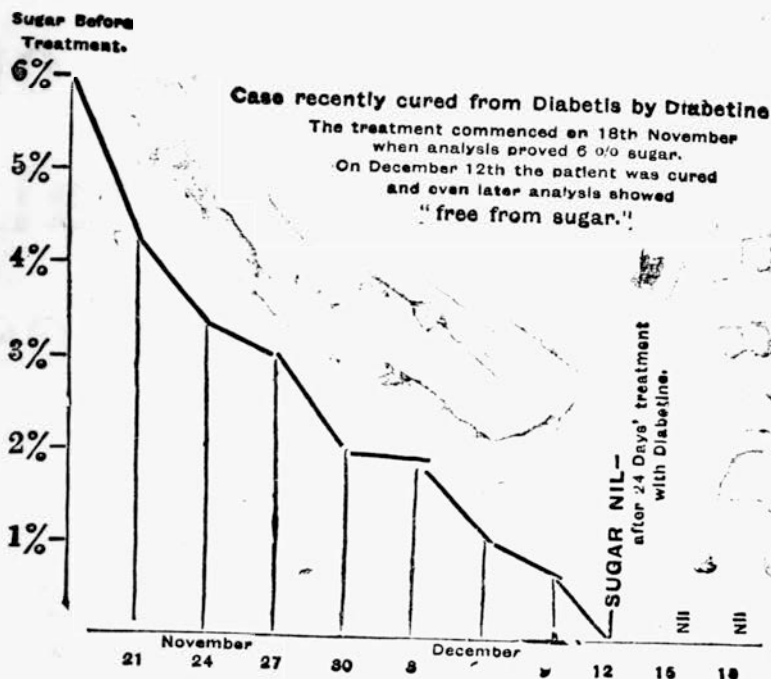
The Chinese servants fled, uttering shrieks of terror. Sebastian sat up on the floor, looking about him in a dazed way. Romanoff, in frank terror, covered in a far corner.

Bianca felt herself seized and hurled back upon the couch. As she tried to rise, she felt an invisible weight on either shoulder, that pressed her down.

Leontine stood beside the door untouched, the precious paper still in her hand. She alone had kept her self

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The Shielding Shadow

BY RANDALL PARRISH

(Continued from previous page.)

With the aid of Louis a forgery had been effected, being a transfer of certain property held by Jerry in America to Sebastian, in return for ready money to finance his treasure-finding expedition. Of course, Jerry had never executed such a paper.

Sebastian and his brother, Diego, had then accused Jerry to Leontine, alleging that instead of transferring the property, he had sold it and pocketed the proceeds. It was Jerry's unexpected return and his discovery of the paper that had led to the quarrel that ended in Diego's death.

Jerry, although innocent of the death of Sebastian's brother, had been placed in compromising circumstances. He had been tried before an Argentine court of law, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Soon afterward she had learned that he had died.

As she read the whole story, Leontine felt a deep and rebellious rage against her husband fill her heart. So his whole life with her had been a lie. Sometimes she had almost felt sorry for him. Now she realized that life with him had become impossible. She could not restore Jerry to life, but this evidence would at least be sufficient to have the case reopened and Jerry's life freed from blame, his innocence established.

But why had Louis Lamb, who had denied acquaintance with her at White's Village, written this confession?

No matter. She would return to the Argentine by the first boat and set about her life task of establishing Jerry's innocence.

She stood like a statue underneath the lamp, incapable for the time of movement; she knew nothing, but lived again in the past. She saw Jerry starting on his wonderful voyage, which was to bring them fortune, and she heard again her own parting pledge of loyalty to him. The paper fluttered loosely in her hand.

That was the moment when the magpie, Louis, stealing up behind Leontine, saw his own signature at the bottom of the paper. With a swift, deft movement, he snatched it out of her hand.

"I know that name," said Louis, rubbing his hand across his forehead. "Why—why, it's my own!"

Leontine, recognizing Louis, looked at him in wonder.

"Give me that paper," she said quietly. "Yes, it is your own confession, Mr. Lamb. And I thank you a thousand times. 'Don't mention it,' said Louis, making an ironical bow.

Louis, holding the confession high in the air, took his station beneath the light and began reading it. He read on in profound astonishment. Leontine waited. She knew

the situation was a difficult one, but she knew that she was more likely to get back the paper by diplomacy than by force.

Louis' brows wrinkled as he continued to read. He had not the faintest recollection of having ever written such a thing. What had been the matter with him? Well, it was a lie, anyway, and probably a forgery.

"Let me have it now," pleaded Leontine, as Louis came to the end.

Louis, still holding the paper above her head, grinned mischievously.

"What's the game?" he demanded. "Going to send me to the penitentiary, eh? What's the game? Who put you up to it?"

"Mr. Lamb, please listen to me. You wrote that confession and it is very valuable to me. Jerry Carson, whom you wronged, meant a good deal to me. I want that paper now. You won't go back on your word?"

Louis grinned, and suddenly lowering the paper, tore it in two.

With a scream Leontine flung herself upon him, trying to wrest the paper out of his hand. So unexpected was her movement that at first Louis was quite taken aback. Her finger closed on his clenched fist which held the two halves of the document. She was trying with all her might to force his hand open. And all the while she pleaded.

"Give it back to me, please—please!" she implored. "It is worth everything to me. It is worth a thousand dollars—all that I have. Listen, then! Bring it to my house with me and I will give you a thousand in cash to-night."

"A thousand dollars!" grinned Louis contemptuously. "Say, I reckon to drop as much as that any night in Madame Bianca's."

He flung her off and deliberately tore the two halves across, and again, and again. He hurled the fragments of paper into the roadway. The breeze caught them and sent them flying in all directions. They rose into the air like a miniature snow-storm, fluttered, and drifted away.

So Jerry's honor was scattered to the winds again; so Leontine's hopes were dissipated into the night air.

"Think I'm a fool?" sneered Louis. "Think I'm going to put myself in the penitentiary for a thousand dollars? It's a fake, anyway. I never wrote it."

And, raising his hat with magpie malice, the little crook took his nonchalant departure.

Leontine sank down upon the steps and sobbed her heart out.

(To be continued.)

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War Loan Information Bureau, Esplanade Road. Shaikh Memon Street. Bhandi Bazaar, Parel Road.

Municipal Hall, Bandra. All Branches of the principal Banks and Agents in Bombay.

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The Signature of the Secretary, Western India Turf Club, will be stamped on every ticket.

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Tickets required by Syndicates and Confederacies must be applied for in one name only and the name of the Syndicate or Confederacy will also be registered.

The Lottery will close at all Offices outside Bombay City on 31st May, 1917, and in Bombay City on the 14th June 1917.

The drawing will take place at the Town Hall, Bombay and will commence on the 2nd July, 1917.

Five per cent. of the amount subscribed will be devoted to expenses of the Lottery. In the event of the expenses being less than 5% the difference will be given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, Bombay Presidency Branch. Should the expenses exceed 5% the extra cost will be defrayed by the Western India Turf Club.

An official list of the prize winners will be published on the completion of the drawing.

E. F. LANCE,

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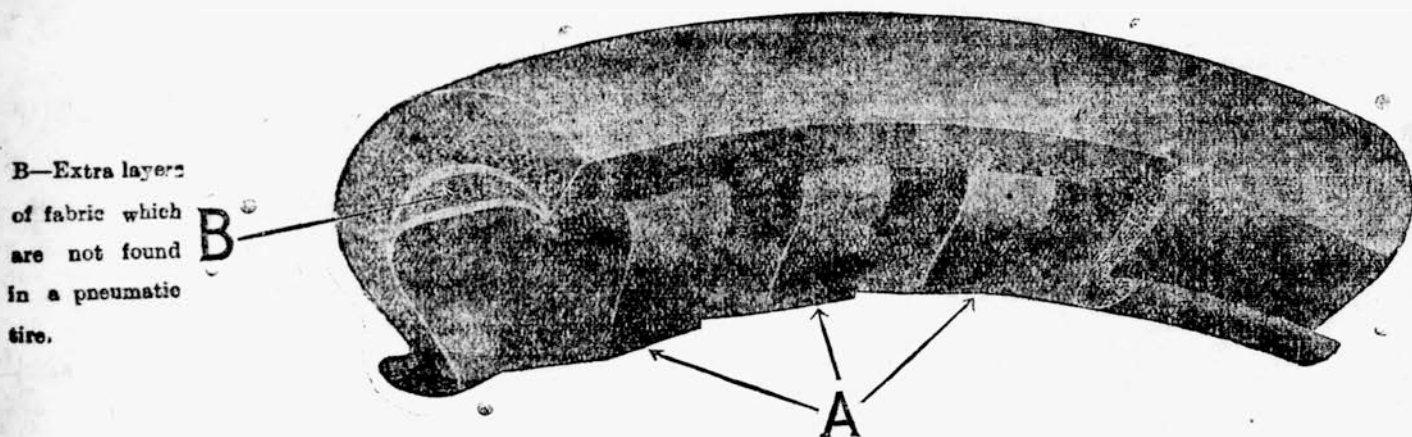
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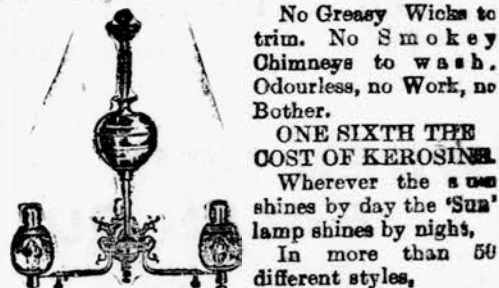
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